THE SHIRKÛTU OF BABYLONIAN DEITIES

BY

RAYMOND PHILIP DOUGHERTY

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THE SHIRKÛTU

OF

BABYLONIAN DEITIES

BY

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To my First Teacher in Semitics
PROFESSOR JOSIAH P. LANDIS, D.D., Ph.D.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AENN	Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus, GCCI* Vol. I.
AENP	Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods, GCCI* Vol. II. (*In preparation.*)
B	Brünnow, *A Classified List of all Simple and Compound Ideographs.*
BA	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie.*
BE	Clay, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.* Vol. VIII, Part I, *Legal and Commercial Transactions, Dated in the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods.* Vol. X, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, Dated in the Reign of Darius.*
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies.*
BR	Kohler and Peiser, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben.*
BRM	Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. P. Morgan,* Part I, *Business Transactions of the First Millennium B. C.*
CD	Muss-Aronldt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language.*
CEHE	*Collection of L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes.*
DlSGl	Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar.*
GCCI	*Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions.*
Grice Chrn	Grice, *Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty, YOR* IV 1.
HmlSL	Hommel, *Sumerische Lesestücke.*
HRETA	Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities, BIN* Part II.
Hwb	Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
KAT^{3}	*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament,* 3te Aufl. 1903.
KBB	Koschaker, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht.*
K & U AR	Kohler and Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden.*
LCE	Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech, BIN* Part I.
LCL	Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters.*
M	Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme.*
MI	Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection, YBT* Vol. I.
NKI	Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften.*
NLE	Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech, YBT* Vol. III.

OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
PBSA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*
PsrVrtr	Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge.*
R	Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.*
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie.*
RECC	Tremayne, *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses, YBT.* Vol. VII.
REN	Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus, YBT* Vol. VI.
RUL	Grice, *Records from Ur and Larsa, YBT* Vol. V.
SSS	*Semitic Study Series.*
STD	Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur Dynasty, YBT* Vol. IV.
StrCamb	Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses.*
StrCyr	Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus.*
StrDar	Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius.*
StrNbk	Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor.*
StrNbn	Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus.*
TlqNB	Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch.*
UDT	Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets.*
UMBS	*University of Pennsylvania. The Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section.*
VS	*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.*
YBT	*Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts.* For Vol. VII see *RECC.*
YOR	*Yale Oriental Series, Researches.*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZATW	*Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Cuneiform inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods consist largely of temple archives which throw a flood of light upon the life of the times. A vast amount of information has thus been gained concerning the ceremonial, commercial and judicial activities of important centers of worship in Babylonia. By means of facts obtained from various records it has been possible to repeople, as it were, the ruins of sacred edifices of the past with numerous functionaries and their retinues of busy subordinates.

Of unusual interest is the *širkûtu,*[1] an order of temple servants, whose exact status could be only surmised from the documents formerly at the disposal of scholars. It was natural to conclude from early meager references that the *širkûtu* formed a class of temple officials.[2] Now, with the aid of recently published texts, it is possible to peer into the intricate workings of this order and to come to some decision as to its real nature.

Volume VI of *YBT,* entitled *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus,* published by the writer in 1920, and Volume VII of the same series, entitled *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses,* by Dr. Archibald Tremayne, contain inscriptions of extreme

[1]For the sake of uniformity the following terms will be used in translation and discussion: *širku* and *širkê* as the singular and plural terms representing individual members of the order; *širkûtu* as the term representing the order *in toto. Širkûtu* seems to be used in an abstract sense like the term *priesthood* in English, though it is not impossible to regard it as a plural form like *agarrûtu* from *agarru. Širkatu* is the feminine singular form, and is translated "female *širku.*" It must be noted that *Hwb* and *CD* give *šarâqu* as the root of the verb. If this was the original root, the *q* has been softened to *k* in the texts dealing with the *širkûtu,* as is evidenced by such terms as *hši-ra-ka, fšir-ka-tum, hši-ik-ka;* see pages 78, 79. Signs are used in these texts which may be transliterated with either *q* or *k,* but in no case is a sign used requiring *q,* whereas there are many cases where *k* is the only transliteration possible. Cf. *JAOS* Vol. 36, p. 417f, for the suggestion by Professor Haupt that the verb *šarâku* is related to Arabic شكر = "to thank," "to praise." The term *iškaru,* see note 77, may be the Assyrian representative of this Arabic root. That *šarâku* and *iškaru* are related to one another by transposition is not unlikely.

[2]Cf. *BE* Vol. X, p. 63, note.

value in determining the position and function of the *širkûtu,* and this material forms the nucleus of this discussion. The writer has not had access to the autographed texts of Volume VII of *YBT,* but Dr. Tremayne kindly permitted the use of his excellent dissertation, *Temple Records from Erech, Reign of Cyrus,* submitted to Yale University in 1919, and furnished the references to the *širkûtu* in his Cambyses texts, so that the original tablets in the Yale Babylonian Museum might be consulted.

It has been thought best to preface the discussion of the material in *YBT* with a treatment of that furnished by other Collections. At the close a survey, both lexicographical and general, has been given. The customary indication of the numbers of the lines in texts has necessitated translations which at times deviate from the English idiom.[2a] In the transliterations the usual terms have been used for determinatives, such as *âl* = city, *f* = feminine, *ki* = place, *mât* = country, *m* = masculine, *me, meš* = plural, *nâr* = canal, river, etc. However, *d* = *deus, dea,* has been used for *il, ilat,* = god, goddess, and *h* = *homo* has been used for *amêl* = man, the determinative before terms denoting occupations, professions, officials, etc.

Though there are some references to the *širkûtu* outside of Erech, the majority of the texts deal with the *širkûtu* connected with Eanna, the great temple in Erech, whose prominent deity was the goddess Ishtar, also called Innina of Erech, Bêlit (i. e., Lady) of Erech, and Nanâ.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his deep indebtedness to Professor A. T. Clay for incentive and valued aid in the preparation of this monograph, to Dr. Archibald Tremayne for the privilege of incorporating the related material of his volume in this discussion, and to Dr. E. M. Grice for assistance in gathering data.

[2a] In cases like *StrNbn* 945, page 15, *REN* 150, page 73, *YBT* Vol. VII 2, page 71, etc., where the names of son and father appear with the term *širku* coming after the father's name, the son is the *širku* referred to, as is proven by *YBT* Vol. VII 44 and 73, pages 52 and 53. See also *HRETA* 111, page 18. Even without this proof uncertainty need not exist, since there are texts like *LCE* 106, page 19, and *REN* 224, page 36, which indicate that the offspring of members of the *širkûtu* belonged to the order.

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PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION.

An early clue of etymological significance for the *širkûtu* came to light in two of Rawlinson's masterly volumes,[3] viz., the equation *PA-KAB-DU*[4] = *šarâku*. The verb *šarâku* with the meaning "to give," "to present," had wide use in Assyrian and Babylonian literature.[5] Proper names were compounded from the same root.[6] These observations form a necessary introduction to the discussion of the following texts.

Texts in the British and Berlin Museums.

Fragmentary quotations from certain texts, some partially mutilated, furnish an initial glimpse of the nature of the *širkûtu*.

StrNbn 842:6—*mŠa-pi-i-kal-bi hširku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ša dŠamaš*, "Sha-pî-kalbi, a *širku* of Shamash."

VS VI 100:3—*mBa-la-ṭu apil-šu ša mI-ba-a hši-rik dNabû*, "Balâṭu, the son of Ibâ, a *širku* of Nabû."

StrNbn 958:2—*fdBânîtu*(*-tu*)*-dan-na-at fšir-kat ša dŠamaš*, "Bânîtu-dannat, a female *širku* of Shamash."

StrNbn 33:4—*A-na hširkê*(*PA-KAB-DUmeš*) *ša dLugal*....., "To the *širkê* of Lugal....."

StrNbn 1129:7—*Kurummatêzun hši-ra-*[*ku*][7].....", "The food of members of the *širkûtu*....."

StrNbn 842:2-4—2 .....*ma-na 10 šiqil* 3 .....*kaspi ša mLa-kip hšir-ki* 4 ..... "2 .....mina 10 shekels 3 .....of silver of Lâkip, a *širku* 4 ....."

StrNbn 976:9, 16—*1 gur ŠE-BAR kurummatêzun hrab širki*(*PA-KAB-DU*), "1 kor of barley, the food of the chief *širku*."

[3] II *R* 19, 40a; V *R* 51, 22a.

[4] Cf. *DlSGl* p. 72f. *HmlSL* p. 214, gives the shorter form *PA-KAB*. Cf. *hPA-KAB-û-tu*, *REN* 80:16, *fPA-KAB-tum*, *YBT* Vol. VII 60:2, and *urukî SAG-PA-KAB-GA*, *RUL* 129:31.

[5] See references under *šarâqu* in *Hwb* and *CD*.

[6] Cf. *Širik*, *Širiktu*, *Širikki*, *Širku*, *Širik-dNabû*, *Širiktum-dMarduk*, in *TlqNB*; *Širku*, *BRM* Part 8, 79:4, 6; and *Širiktum-AZAG-SUD*, *LCE* 169:24; *YBT* Vol. VII 44.5; 179:1, 9. Tallqvist in *TlqNB* transliterates *Širiq*, etc.

[7] See note 89.

StrNbn 1010:11; 1037:7—*1 gur kurummatê*^{zun} *hrab šim-ki,*[8] "1 kor, the food of the chief *širku.*"

StrCyr 74:8—*1 gur kurummatê*^{zun} *hrab ši-iš-ku,*[8] "1 kor, the food of the chief *širku.*"

StrNbn 234:6, 7—6 *Ri-ḫi* 7 *kaspi ša i-di bîtâti*^{meš} *ša hši-ra-*[*ku*], "6 The balance 7 of the silver of the rent of the *širkûtu* houses."

StrNbk 253:1-3—1 ....*3 gur ŠE-BAR kurummatê*^{zun} 2 [*h*]*ši-ra-ku ša ṣêri* ^{m}*Ta-qiš* 3 [*h*]*rab ši-iš-ku iddina*(*-na*). "1 ....3 kors of barley, the food 2 of the members of the *širkûtu* of the plain, Taqîsh, 3 the chief *širku,* gave."

StrCyr 288:5-9—5 ....*6 gur ŠE-BAR ù* 6 ....*suluppi a-na* 7 [*kurummatê*]^{zun} *hši-ra-ku* 8 [*e*]*-piš dul-lu ša ina pâni* 9 ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu apil* ^{m}*Eri-ba.* "5 ....6 kors of barley and .... dates for 7 the food of the members of the *širkûtu* 8 performing work, who are at the disposal of 9 Balâṭu, the son of Êriba."

StrNbn 172:1-3—1 ^{md}*Šamaš-aḫ-id-dan-nu apil-šu ša* 2 ^{md}*Bêl*.....^{d}*Šamaš hši-rik* ^{d}*Šamaš* 3 *a-na hsa-ab-si-nu-tu*..... "1 Shamash-aḫ-iddannu, the son of 2 Bêl.....Shamash, a *širku* of Shamash, 3 for *sabsinûtu*[9].....'"

StrNbk 169:1-5—1 *20 ma-ši-ḫi a-na* 2 *ma-šiḫ ša hširkê*(*PA-KAB-DU*^{meš}) 3 *a-na qîmi*(*ZID-DA*) *a-na* 4 ^{m}*Balâṭ-su hišpar kitî*.... 5 *nadna*(*-na*), "1 20 measures for 2 the measure of the *širkê* 3 for flour to 4 Balâṭsu, the weaver of cloth.... 5 are given."

VS VI 143:5-8—5 ^{m}*Ni-din-ti mâri ša* ^{m}*Bêl-êṭir-*^{d}*Šamaš* 6 *hši-rik* ^{d}*Marduk*

[8]Cf. *ZA* Vol. 19, p. 417f for discussion of the following equation, *hrab PA-KAB-DU* = *hrab ši-iš-ku* = *hrab šim-ki.* See also *OLZ* March-April 1921, p. 88. Were it not for this evidence to the contrary, the reading *hrab rik-ki* would seem the more natural. Cf. *BE* Vol. XIV, p. 23. As to *hrab ši-iš-ku,* Ungnad in Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik §6h indicates that *r* becomes *š* in vulgar usage. Thus *šipirtu* changes to *sipištu. StrCyr* 332:19, 23 contains the form *šim-ki-ú-tu,* heretofore transliterated *hrik-ki-ú-tu.* See *BA* IV pp. 32-35 for transliteration, translation and discussion of this text. The record deals with a slave, Mushêzib-Shamash, sold to Nûr-Shamash in the (?) year of Nabonidus. In the 7th year of Nabonidus Nûr-Shamash gave Mushêzib-Shamash to Burâshu, his wife, as compensation for her dowry. After the death of Nûr-Shamash, Burâshu and her second husband first gave Mushêzib-Shamash as a pledge for ½ mina of silver and then sold him in the 6th year of Cyrus for 1 mina and 50 shekels of silver. In the 8th year of Cyrus the wife of the original owner who sold Mushêzib-Shamash to Nûr-Shamash brought a claim for *hšim-ki-ú-tu* and *hmâr banû-ú-tu* against Mushêzib-Shamash, which was not substantiated because of insufficient evidence. The result was the levying of a fine upon the woman who brought the spurious claim. This document is interesting because it apparently places *hšim-ki-ú-tu* on a plane with *hmâr banû-ú-tu* and *hardu-ú-tu* (line 22) as a service liable to be required of a slave.

[9]The meaning of *hsabsinûtu* is still uncertain. In line 7 of the same text occurs *hsa-ab-si-nu-tu qa-ti-tim.*

ša kurummatê^{zun} šarri 7 [*a-na*] ^{m}*Še-el-li-bi mâri ša* ^{m}*Iddin-*^{d}*Nabû* 8 ^{h}*nappaḫi e-ṭi-ir,* "5 Nidinti, the son of Bêl-êṭir-Shamash, a *širku* of Marduk, who the food of the king 7 [to] Shellibi, the son of Iddin-Nabû, the blacksmith, delivered."

The above brief extracts indicate that the *širkûtu* was an order of men and women connected with various deities, that they rendered different kinds of service for which they received food, clothing and possibly money, that there were houses owned by members of the *širkûtu* or set apart for their use, and that there was a chief *širku*. With these general points in mind, more important texts may now be considered.

A debt of bricks to be paid by a *širku*.

StrNbn 643—1 *2,000 a-gur-ru makkur* ^{d}*Šamaš ina muḫ-ḫi* 2 ^{md}*Šamaš-mukîn-aplu apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Balâṭu* 3 ^{h}*rab ši-ir-ku ša* ^{d}*Šamaš* 4 *a-šar* ^{m}*Mušêzib-*^{d}*Marduk* ^{h}*šangû Sip-par*^{ki} 5 *mi-iš-ḫi i-ṣab-ba-tu* 6 *a-gur-ru a-na* ^{m}*Mušêzib-*^{d}*Marduk* 7 *i-nam-din.*

"1 2,000 bricks, the property of Shamash, to be paid by 2 Shamash-mukîn-aplu, the son of Balâṭu, 3 the chief *širku* of Shamash. 4 Wherever Mushêzib-Marduk, priest of Sippar, 5 takes the measurement, 6 the bricks to Mushêzib-Marduk, 7 he shall give."

We may conclude from this record that the chief *širku* of Shamash in Sippar had been able to secure a loan of 2,000 bricks from the supply belonging to the temple of Shamash. Evidently the bricks were borrowed for some urgent building operation outside the temple precincts. This indicates that a *širku* could have interests apart from his duties as a devotee of a deity. The temple insured itself against loss by stipulating that one of its priests should supervise the payment of the debt. That a *širku* could take part in an important commercial transaction reveals the fact that the order was not entirely debarred from the ordinary transactions of life.

A debt of money to be paid by a *širku*.

StrNbn 945—1 *1 1/2 ma-na kaspi ša* ^{m}*Itti-*^{d}*Marduk-balâṭu* 2 *apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫê^{meš}-iddin apil* ^{m}*E-gi-bi* 3 *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}*La-ba-a-ši apil-šu ša* 4 ^{md}*Bêl-ri-ṣu-a* ^{h}*ši-rik*..... 5 *ša arḫi ina muḫ-ḫi 1 ma-ni-e* 6 *1 šiqil kaspi*

ina muḫ-ḫi-šu 7 *i-rab-bi ina* [arab]*Kislimu* 8 *kaspám 1 1/2 ma-na ù* 9 *ḫubulla-šu i-nam-din.*

"1 1 1/2 minas of silver belonging to Itti-Marduk-balâṭu, 2 the son of Nabû-aḫê-iddin, son of Egibi, 3 to be paid by Lâbâshi, the son of 4 Bêl-riṣûa, a *širku*..... 5 Monthly upon 1 mina 6 1 shekel of silver against it 7 shall increase. In the month Kislev 8 the silver amounting to 1 1/2 minas and 9 its interest he shall pay."

Lines 10-14, which are not entirely clear, are followed by the names of three witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Babylon, the 12th of....., the 15th year of Nabonidus.

This document is in the usual form of a note promising to pay a debt with interest. It indicates that a *širku* could make a legal contract on the same terms as those granted to individuals who had not been dedicated to a deity for special service.

One *širku* becomes surety for another.

StrCyr 281—1 [md]*Bêl-êṭir-*[d]*Šamaš* [ḫ]*ši-rik* [d]*Šamaš ša* 2 [md]*Marduk-šum-iddin* [ḫ]*šangû Šipparki ina bît karêmeš* 3 *si-me-ri-e parzilli id-du-uš-šu* 4 [md]*Šamaš-di-num-êpuš*(*-uš*) [ḫ]*ši-rik* [d]*Šamaš* 5 *ina la-zi-tu Ê-*[d]*Babbar* [ḫ]*šangêmeš* 6 *ù šibûtimeš âli pu-ut-su* [*ina qât*] 7 [md]*Marduk-šum-iddin* [ḫ]*šangû Sip-parki iš-ši-ma* 8 *si-me-ri-e parzilli ip-ṭur-šu ki-i* 9 [md]*Bêl-êṭir-*[d]*Šamaš a-na a-šar ša-nam-ma* 10 *it-tal-ka* [md]*Bêl-di-num-e-pu-uš* 11 *dul-lu ša* [md]*Bêl-êṭir-*[d]*Šamaš a-na eli* 12 *dul-lu-šu ip-pu-uš.*

"1 (With reference to) Bêl-êṭir-Shamash, a *širku* of Shamash, whom 2 Marduk-shum-iddin, a priest of Sippar, in the storehouse 3 into iron chains cast, 4 Shamash-dînum-êpush, a *širku* of Shamash, 5 in the *lazîtu*[10] of Ê-Babbar, the priests, 6 and the elders of the city, his responsibility from 7 Marduk-shum-iddin, a priest of Sippar, assumed and 8 from iron chains loosed him. When 9 Bêl-êṭir-Shamash to another place 10 has gone, Bêl-dînum-êpush, 11 the work of Bêl-êṭir-Shamash in addition to 12 his own work shall perform."

Names of three witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Sippar, the 3d of Adar, the 7th year of Cyrus.

[10]The term *ina la-zi-tu* is unusual. One would expect a term like *ina pâni*. Arabic لَدَى means "in the presence of," but there are consonantal difficulties in accepting it as the etymological equivalent of *lazîtu*. The writer is indebted to Professor Ember for the suggestion that *lazîtu* may be a term similar to *lapâni*, with *zîtu* as a form from *zîmu* = "features," "face." Cf. *BA* Vol. III p. 433f; *BE* Part II p. 76; *KBB* p. 58.

In the first place, it must be noted that Bêl-dînum-êpush in line 10 is apparently a mistake for Shamash-dînum-êpush as the name is written in line 4. The undoubted purport of the context requires this correction. A highly interesting situation is depicted in this document. A *širku* who had been cast into chains, presumably on account of some delinquency or criminal act, was set free at the interposition of another *širku* who agreed to assume the work of the released *širku* in addition to his own in case of violated bail. Thus a *širku* could not neglect his own work in assuming the duties of another, which proves that the work of the temple was carefully divided among the members of the *širkûtu* on the basis of strict accountability.

Texts in the Pennsylvania University Museum.

Record of an amount of money owed a *širku*.

BE Vol. VIII 24—1 *6 1/2 šiqil kaspi 1/2 šiqlu pit-qa* 2 *ša* ^{md}*Nabû-a-lik-pâni* ^{h}*ši-iš-ki* 3 *ša* ^{d}*Bêl ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}*Li-ši-ru apil-šu* 4 *ša* ^{md}*Marduk-êriba apil* ^{m}*Ê-sag-gil-a-a* 5 ^{fd}*Bânîtu(-tu)-šul-lim-an-ni rab*..... 6 *maš-ka-nu a-di* ^{arab}*Nisannu i-di*.....

"1 6 1/2 shekels of silver in half shekel pieces(?) 2 belonging to Nabû-âlik-pâni, a *širku* 3 of Bêl to be paid by Lîshiru, the son 4 of Marduk-êriba, son of Êsaggila. 5 Bânitu-shullimanni, the chief....., 6 as pledge until the month Nisan (for) the rent(?).....

A number of lines have been destroyed. The names of a few witnesses and the scribe appear at the end. Dated at Babylon, the 14th of second Elul, the 41st year of Nebuchadrezzar.

This document indicates that a *širku* could possess money and could give it as a loan to a person outside the order. The *širku* had the right to protection by a written contract the same as any other individual.

Rental of a house partly owned by a female *širku*.

BE Vol. VIII 104—1 *Bîtu ša* ^{m}*Ṣilli-Ê-zi-da apil-šu* 2 *ša* ^{md}*Nabû-šú-zu-bu-an-ni apil* ^{h}*Ši*..... 3 *ù* ^{f}*Bu-'-i-tum* ^{h}*šim-ki* 4 *a-na i-di bîti ina pânû* ^{m}*Ni-din-tum* 5 *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ba-zu-zu apil* ^{h}*Rab-enzi* 6 *ša šatti 4 1/2 šiqil kaspi piṣû(-ú)* 7 *i-di bîti* ^{m}*Ni-din-tum i-nam-din* 8 *ina lib-bi 2 šiqil kaspi piṣû(-ú) i-di*..... 9 ^{f}*Bu-'-i-tum ina qât* 10 ^{m}*Ni-din-tum ma-ḫi-ir-tum.*

"1 The house of Ṣilli-Êzida, the son 2 of Nabû-shûzubuanni, son of *ʰŠi*....., 3 and Bu'itum, a (female) *širku*, 4 for the rent of the house is at the disposal of Nidintum, 5 the son of Bazuzu, son of the *Rab-enzi*. 6 Yearly 4 1/2 shekels of pure silver 7 as the rent of the house Nidintum shall give. 8 Of it 2 shekels of pure silver as rent..... 9 Bu'itum from 10 Nidintum has received."

Names of six witnesses. Dated at Borsippa, the 3d of Adar, the 28th year of Darius. After the date appear some additional regulations.

This brief record makes an interesting contribution concerning the *širkûtu* because it shows that a female *širku* could be joint owner of a house with a man who was not a member of the order. The female *širku* is not referred to as the wife of the man. Whether any other relationship existed between the two cannot be determined. The document shows that women who were members of the *širkûtu* had commercial rights and privileges.

Texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection.

Provision for the return of a *širku* to the temple.

HRETA 111—1 *Ûmu 1ᵏᵃᵐ ša ᵃʳᵃᵇArahsamnu šattu 4ᵏᵃᵐ ᵐKu-raš šar Bâb-iliᵏⁱ* 2 *šar mâtâti ᵐᵈMarduk-apal-uṣur apil-šu ša ᵐMušêzib-ᵈMarduk* 3 *apil ᵐAmêl-ᵈÊa ᵐGa-la-la ʰširku(PA-KAB-DU)* 4 *ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ ib-ba-kam-ma ina Ê-an-na* 5 *i-nam-din ki-i la i-tab-ku* 6 *ul-tu muḫ-ḫi ū-mu ša ᵐGa-la-la* 7 *ʰširku(PA-KAB-DU) ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ* 8 *ina pa-ni-šu šatti* 9 *4,000 a-gur-ru iš-kar-šu* 10 *a-na ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ i-nam-din.*

"1 On the 1st day of Marchesvan, the 4th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, 2 king of countries, Marduk-apal-uṣur, the son of Mushêzib-Marduk, 3 son of Amêl-Êa, Galala, a *širku* 4 of the Bêlit of Erech, shall bring and in Êanna 5 shall deliver. If he does not bring (him), 6 from the time when Galala, 7 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, 8 was at his disposal, yearly 9 4,000 bricks as his *iškaru*[11] 10 to the Bêlit of Erech he shall give."

Names of three witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 19th of Tishri, the 5th year of Cyrus.

That a *širku* could be placed at the disposal of an individual outside the temple is clearly indicated by this text. At times the *širkûtu* of a certain temple may have grown to such numbers that there was a lack of work for all members of the organization. Under such cir-

[11]See note 77.

cumstances the temple authorities would be willing to allow a *širku* to work for an ordinary citizen of the community with the proviso that the *širku* should be returned at a stated time. In the above document a fine to be paid in bricks at the rate of 4,000 annually is imposed for the full period of service by the *širku* if his temporary master is delinquent in meeting his stipulated obligation. In the first line of the text the scribe probably meant to write the 7th (or 5th) instead of the 4th year of Cyrus. The document is dated in the 5th year of Cyrus and the provision for a fine to be paid at an annual rate indicates that the contract may have involved a number of years.

Stipulation that a woman shall return her two sons to the temple.

LCE 106—1 *A-di ûmu 20^{kam} ša ^{ara_h}Abu šattu 7^{kam} ^{m}Ku-raš* 2 *šar Bâbili^{ki} šar mâtâti ^{f}E-muq-tum* 3 *aššat ^{m}Na-di-nu ^{h}širku(PA-KAB-DU) ^{d}Innina Urук^{ki}* 4 *^{m}Ri-mut u ^{md}Na-na-a-iddin mârê^{meš}-šu* 5 *^{h}širkê(PA-KAB-DU^{meš}) ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Urук^{ki} ta-ab-kam-ma* 6 *a-na ^{md}Nabû-mukîn-aplu ^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na* 7 *apil-šu ša ^{m}Na-di-nu apil ^{m}Da-bi-bi u ^{md}Nabû-aḫ-iddin* 8 *^{h}šaqû šarri ^{h}bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* 9 *ta-nam-din ^{m}E-til-lu apil-šu ša* 10 *^{m}Ê-an-na-šum-lîšir apil ^{h}DU-ZU* 11 *u ^{md}Šamaš-napištim(-tim)-uṣur apil-šu ša ^{md}Šamaš-GAL-LU-lu-mur* 12 *apil ^{m}Ki-din-^{md}Marduk pu-ut ^{f}E-muq-tum* 13 *na-šú-ú ištên(-en) pu-ut šanî(-i)na-šú-ú.*

"1 By the 20th day of Ab, the 7th year of Cyrus, 2 king of Babylon, king of countries, Emuqtum, 3 the wife of Nâdinu, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 4 Rîmût and Nanâ-iddin, her sons, 5 *širkê* of the Bêlit of Erech, shall bring and 6 to Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, 7 the son of Nâdinu, son of Dabibi, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, 8 the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 9 shall give. Etillu, the son of 10 Êanna-shum-lîshir, son of *^{h}DU-ZU,* 11 and Shamash-napishtim-uṣur, the son of Shamash-GALLU-lûmur, 12 son of Kidin-Marduk, are responsible for Emuqtum. 13 The two bear one responsibility."

Names of three witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 5th of Ab, the 7th year of Cyrus.

The above document reveals the following facts. A man, who was a *širku,* married a woman who did not belong to the order.[11a]

[11a]It should be noted, however, that *hširku* in line 3 may possibly be in apposition with *fE-muq-tum* instead of with *mNa-di-nu.* Cp. *fBu-'-i-tum hšim-ki, BE* Vol. VIII 104, line 3.

Their two sons were affected by the status of the father, i. e., they were members of the *širkûtu*. This assumption is more probable than that their relation to the deity was determined by a special act of dedication. *REN* 224 indicates that the status of the offspring of a member of the *širkûtu* was automatically determined. Evidently the sons of a *širku* were included in the organization even if their mother was not a similar devotee and, furthermore, their mother had no claim upon them over that of the temple. In this case a mother was allowed to take her two sons from the temple for 15 days, i. e., from the 5th to the 20th of Ab, with the definite provision that they were to be returned to the officials of the temple at the end of that time. Complete dependence was not placed upon the woman's promise to do this as is shown by the fact that the temple required that two men become surety for her. It is evident that the strictest care was taken to protect the temple's claim upon the *širkûtu*.

List of persons dedicated to Ishtar for the *širkûtu*.

HRETA 132:1-7; 42-44—1 *An-nu-tum* ^{h}*pu-qu-da-a-a ša* ^{md}*Nabû-ú-še-zib mâr* ^{m}*A-*[*a-di*] 2 *a-na muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu id-bu-bu um-ma at-tu-ú-a at-tu*..... 3 *šu-nu iq-bu-niš-ši um-ma* ^{m}*Šar-ukîn ù* ^{md}*Sin-aḫê*^{me}*-êriba* 4 *a-na* ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} *u* ^{d}*Na-na-a id-dan-nu-na-a-šu* 5 *a-na tar-ṣi* ^{md}*Aššur-aḫ-iddin ḫur-ša-an it-ti* ^{md}*Nabû-ú-še-zib mâr* ^{m}*A-a-di* 6 *il-li-ku-ú-ma iz-ku-nim-ma* ^{md}*Aššur-aḫ-iddin a-na* ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} 7 *ù* ^{md}*Na-na-a ú-zak-ki-šu-nu-tu ar-ka-niš* .....
42 *napḫaru 28* [*h*] *ṣâbê*^{meš} ^{h}*pu-qu-da-a-a ša ina ḫur-ša-an iz-ku-ni* 43 *an-nu-tum* ^{h}*pu-qu-da-a-a ša abê*^{meš} *-šu-nu a-na* ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} 44 *ù* ^{d}*Na-na-a a-na* ^{h}*širkûtu* (*PA-KAB-DU-ú-tu*) *id-di-nu-šu-nu-tu.*

"1 These are the *puqudâ*[12] concerning whom Nabû-ushêzib, the son of Âdi, 2 announced as follows: 'As for me, ...' 3 They themselves said as follows: 'Shar-ukîn and Sin-aḫê-êriba 4 to Innina of Erech and Nanâ gave us.' 5 Into the presence of Asshur-aḫ-iddin (in) the mountains

[12]Cf. *hpa-qu-di-e, LCE* 169:14, *hpa-qu-du, YBT* Vol. VII 137:2,3, and *hpi-qu-da-a-a, REN* 183:14. *CD* p. 822 suggests "mayor" as the meaning for *hpaqûdu*. Langdon in *Expository Times* Vol. XXX No. 10, p. 462, translates "inspector." Scheil in *RA* Vol. 17 No. 2, 1919, p. 113 translates "policiers." The term evidently refers to persons entrusted with the duty of taking care of other than private affairs or property. Cf. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* pp. 238ff.

together with Nabû-ushêzib, the son of Âdi, 6 they went and became free and Asshur-ah-iddin to Innina of Erech 7 and Nanâ afterwards dedicated them .....
42 Total, 28 workmen (*see note 49*), the *puqudâ*, who in the mountains became free. 43 These are the *puqudâ* whom their fathers to Innina of Erech 44 and Nanâ for the *širkûtu* gave."

This undated document is a unique record of the dedication of a number of persons to the *širkûtu*. The grand total mentioned in line 62 is 44. Lines 8-27 are badly mutilated. Lines 28-41 and 45-60 contain the names of the persons dedicated. If the whole text were intact, it would be less difficult to determine all the circumstances connected with it. However, the statement that the individuals were dedicated by their fathers is illuminating.

Document concerning the temple guard in Erech.

LCE 169—1 ^{md}*Šamaš-id-ri-'* ^{h}*qi-i-pi ša Larsa*^{ki} 2 ^{m}*Si-lim-ilu* ^{h}*šaqû šarri amêlu ša muḫ-ḫi qu-up-pu* 3 ^{m}*Ardi-*^{d}*Marduk apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Zêri-ia apil* ^{m}*E-gi-bi* 4 ^{md}*Marduk-šum-uṣur apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Bêl-uballiṭ(-iṭ) apil* ^{m}*Bu-ú-ṣu* 5 ^{md}*Nabû-bêl-šu-nu apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Na-di-nu apil* ^{m}*Aḫ-'-ú-tu* 6 ^{md}*Nabû-bêl-šu-nu apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Bêl-aḫ-ú-šub-ši apil* ^{m}*Amêl-*^{d}*Ê a* 7 ^{m}*Mu-še-zib-*^{d}*Bêl apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ba-laṭ-su apil* ^{m}*Amêl-*^{d}*Ê a* 8 ^{md}*Innina-zêr-ibni apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Bêl-iq-bi apil* ^{m}*Ḫa-nap* 9 ^{h}*mâr bânî*^{meš} *šâ ina pa-ni-šu-nu* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu* ^{h}*šatammu Ê-an-na* 10 *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Na-di-nu apil* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* 11 ^{h}*šaqû šarri* ^{h}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na a-na* ^{md}*Šamaš-aḫ-iddin apil-šu ša* 12 ^{md}*Šamaš-šum-iddin apil* ^{m}*Qurdi-*^{d}*Anum u* ^{md}*Ê-a-kur-ban-ni* 13 *apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-êṭir-napšâti*^{meš} *apil* ^{md}*Ê-a-kur-ban-ni* 14 ^{h}*pa-qu-di-e ša Uruk*^{ki} *iq-bu-ú* 15 *um-ma ki-i ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum ša Ê-an-na* 16 *tuš-nam-ṣa-ra-'* ^{h}*širkê(PA-KAB-DU*^{meš}*)* [*di*]*-ka-'-a-ma* 17 *ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum it-ti-ku-nu li-iṣ-ṣar-ru* 18 ^{md}*Šamaš-aḫ-iddin ù* ^{md}*Ê-a-kur-ban-ni iq-bu-ú* 19 *um-ma ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum ša Ê-an-na ul ni-na-aṣ-ṣar* 20 *ù* ^{h}*širkê(PA-KAB-DU*^{meš}*) ul ni-di-ik-ki* 21 *ki-i* ^{h}*širkê(PA-KAB-DU*^{meš}*) a-na ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum ša qab-lu âli* 22 *id-di-ku-ú ḫi-ṭu ša* ^{m}*Gu-bar-ru* ^{h}*paḫât Bâbili*^{ki} 23 *u* ^{mât}*E-bir nâri i-šad-da-du*[13] 24 ^{h}*dupšarru* ^{m}*Ši-rik-tum-*^{d}*AZAG-SUD apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu*

[13]Scheil in *RA* Vol. 17 No. 2, 1919, p. 113f, transliterates *i-mad-da-du* and compares the use of *madâdu* = "to measure" with the use of מָדַד in *Isaiah* 65:7. That the reading is *i-šad-da-du* is indicated by *ḫi-ṭu ša šarri i-ša-ad-da-ad*, *REN* 151:17. Cf. also *YBT* Vol. VII 50:11. With this should be compared *ḫi-ṭu ša šarri i-zab-bil*, *REN*

25 *Uruk*^{ki} *arab Kislimu ûmu 17* ^{kam} *šattu rêštû šarrûti* 26 ^{m}*Kam-bu-zi-ia šar Bâbili*^{ki} *šar mâtâti.*

"1 Shamash-idri', the governor of Larsa, 2 Silim-ilu, the chief officer of the king in charge of the (revenue) chest, 3 Ardi-Marduk, the son of Zêrîa, son of Egibi, 4 Marduk-shum-uṣur, the son of Bêl-uballiṭ, son of Bûṣu, 5 Nabû-bêlshunu, the son of Nâdinu, son of Aḫ'ûtu; 6 Nabû-bêlshunu, the son of Bêl-aḫ-ushubshi, son of Amêl-Êa, 7 Mushêzib-Bêl, the son of Balâṭu, son of Amêl-Êa, 8 Innina-zêr-ibni, the son of Bêl-iqbi, son of Ḫanap, 9 *mâr bânî*, in whose presence Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, 10 the son of Nâdinu, son of Dabibi, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, 11 the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, to Shamash-aḫ-iddin, the son of 12 Shamash-shum-iddin, son of Qurdi-Anum, and Êa-kurbanni, 13 the son of Nabû-êṭir-napšâti, son of Êa-kurbanni 14 the guardsmen of Erech, spoke 15 as follows: 'When a watch of Êanna 16 ye watch, summon the *širkê* and 17 let them keep guard with you.' 18 Shamash-aḫ-iddin and Êa-kurbanni replied 19 as follows: 'The watch of Êanna we will not keep 20 and the *širkê* we will not summon.' 21 If the *širkê* for the watch of the center of the city 22 are summoned, a sin against Gobryas, the governor of Babylon 23 and the District beyond the River, they will commit. 24 Scribe, Shiriktum-AZAG-SUD, the son of Balâṭu. 25 Erech, the 17th of Kislev, the accession year of 26 Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of countries."

The importance of this text is indicated by the fact that translations of it have already been published by Scheil[14] and Langdon.[15]

108:11, 12, *ḫi-ṭi ša šarri ta-zab-bil-la-', AENP* 101:9, 10, and *la ba-bil ḫi-iṭ-ṭi, Sechsseitiges Thonprisma Sanheribs,* Col. III, line 6.

The use of *babâlu* and *zabâlu* = "to carry" with *ḫiṭu* = "sin," "trespass," "rebellion," as the object is analogous to the use of Hebrew נָשָׂא . Note וַעֲוֹנֹתָם הוּא יִסְבֹּל, *Isaiah* 55:11, and עֲוֹנֹתֵיהֶם סָבָלְנוּ, *Lamentations* 5:7. The more common idiom נָשָׂא חֵטְא also conveys the idea that sin or guilt is a burden to be borne, literally, lifted up. A similar view is presented in the *Qurân*, Sura 29:12, in the following statement: وَلَيَحْمِلُنَّ أَثْقَالَهُم. Thus *šadâdu* = "to draw," "to pull" seems to be used in the above passage in the sense of dragging a burdensome load, i. e., the guilt of a sin that has been committed. See *PSBA*, 1916, p. 29, lines 8-10, for expression *ḫiṭu - - - - - inamdin.*

[14]See reference to *RA* quoted in note 13.

[15]*Expository Times* Vol. XXX No. 10, July 1919, pp. 461-463, article on *Babylon and 'The Land beyond the River.'* Langdon translates *ḫPA-KAB-DUmeš* "libation bearers." He has evidently taken the meaning from *sarâqu* = "to offer a libation" instead of from *šarâku* (or *šarâqu*) = "to present," "to offer."

Scheil entitles the document *Procès-verbal d'un refus d'obéissance,* while Langdon surmises that its contents refer "to some unknown political disturbance in Erech on the death of Cyrus and the succession of Cambyses." It is apparent that this tablet is a record of a controversy between the officials of Êanna, the temple of Ishtar in Erech, and the guardsmen or police officers of Erech. The former asked the latter to summon the *širkê* for the temple guard and the latter refused to do so. In evident retaliation it was prohibited that the *širkê* should be mustered for guarding the center of the city. A severe penalty was imposed in case of infringement. These proceedings intimate that the temple officials had a right to expect co-operation from the guardsmen of the city and that the latter could be penalized if they refused obedience. Particularly interesting is the fact that members of the *širkûtu* were liable to be summoned for guard duty. We may presume that their primary obligation in this capacity was to the temple, but the city also depended upon them for a similar service, at least in emergencies. That the *širkê* could be mustered by city officials suggests that the operations of the order were not confined to the precincts of the temple, but that some of its activities brought it within the scope of municipal authority. The document under discussion shows that this authority was delegated by the temple, but that it was not always accepted by those in charge of civil affairs, the reason for which must be left to conjecture. The following text throws additional light upon this incident.

Texts in the Goucher College Babylonian Collection.

Responsibility for guarding the temple assumed by three men.

AENP 103—1 *Pu-ut ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum ša Ê-an-na* 2 *^{m}Pir-' apil-šu ša ^{m}Ê-an-na-šum-ibni* 3 *^{m}Ba-la-ṭu apil-šu ša ^{md}In-nin-zêr-iddin* 4 *u ^{m}Ardi-^{d}In-nin apil-šu ša ^{md}Bêl-aḫê^{meš}-iddin* 5 *na-šú-ú ^{ḫ}ši-ra-ku ša ina qa-bal-ta âli* 6 *ša ^{ḫ}šatammu u ^{md}Nabû-aḫ-iddin a-na ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum* 7 *ša Ê-an-na iš-ṭu-ru-ú-ma* 8 *id-di-nu-niš-šu-nu-tu i-di-ik-ku-nim-ma* 9 *ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum ša li-mit Ê-an-na* 10 *i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ru ša i-na ma-aṣ-ṣar-ti-šu* 11 *i-še-el-lu-ú ḫi-ṭu ša ^{m}Gu-ba-ru* 12 *^{ḫ}paḫât Bâbili^{ki} u E-bir nâri i-šad-dad.*

"1 The responsibility of the watch of Êanna, 2 Pir', the son of Êanna-shum-ibni, 3 Balâṭu, the son of Innin-zêr-iddin, 4 and Ardi-Innin, the son of Bêl-aḫê-iddin, 5 assume. The members of the *širkûtu,* which are in the midst of the city, 6 whom the administrator and Nabû-aḫ-iddin for the watch 7 of Êanna appointed (literally, wrote) 8 and gave, they shall summon and 9 the watch of the environs of Êanna 10 they shall keep. Whoever in his watch 11 is slack, a sin against Gobryas, 12 the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River, will commit."

Names of three witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech,....., the accession year of Cambyses.

It can hardly be doubted that this document is connected with the preceding one. Both are dated in the accession year of Cambyses. An unfortunate break in the Goucher tablet renders the decipherment of its exact date impossible, otherwise their correct chronological sequence might be determined. If the documents pertain to the same administrative difficulty, one is inclined to regard the Goucher tablet as a legal contract drawn up immediately after the events recorded in the Nies tablet. Upon the failure of the guardsmen of Erech to accede to the request of the temple officials, the latter would naturally devise other means to carry out their plans. Three men were secured who assumed the responsibility for mustering the members of the *širkûtu* from the midst of the city who had been specially selected for guarding the temple. The same penalty was to be imposed in case of negligence, i. e., some punishment appropriate for a crime committed against the Persian governor. This text is a further illustration of the importance attached by the temple to the proper performance of the functions of the *širkûtu.*

Dedication of a man to Ishtar, the goddess of Erech.

AENN 361—1 *^{m}La-a-ki-pi ša ^{m}Ardi-ia 2 apil ^{md}Nergal-nâṣir bêlu-šu 3 a-na ^{ḫ}širkûtu(PA-KAB-DU-ú-tu) 4 a-na ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} 5 id-di-nu-uš 6 ^{araḫ}Addaru ûmu 8^{kam} šattu 7^{kam} 7 ^{d}Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili^{ki}.*

"1 Lâkipi, whom Ardîa, 2 the son of Nergal-nâṣir, his lord, 3 for the *širkûtu* 4 to the Bêlit (i. e., Ishtar) of Erech 5 gave. 6 The 8th of Adar, the 7th year of 7 Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

The value of this document lies in the fact that it shows that the temple kept a careful record of the dedication of each individual to its particular deity. Such systematic attention to details indicates that the *širkûtu* was well-organized.

Dates and wool received by the chief *širku.*

AENN 38—1 *1 pi 24 qa suluppi* 2 *7 ma-na šipâtê*^{zun} 3 ^{m}*Balâṭ-su* ^{h}*rab šir-ki* 4 *a-na ṣi-di-ti-šu ittaši*(*GIŠ*)[16] 5 ^{arab}*Nisannu ûmu 5*^{kam} 6 *šattu 18*^{kam} 7 ^{d}*Nabû-kudurri-uṣur šar Bâbili*^{ki}.

"1 1 *pi* 24 *qa* of dates 2 7 minas of wool 3 Balâṭsu, the chief *širku* 4 for his sustenance received. 5 The 5th of Nisan, 6 the 18th year of 7 Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon."

The existence of a chief *širku* has already been demonstrated.[17] The document under discussion records that articles for food and clothing were given to this official. It may be presumed that there were regular stipends to meet the various necessities of all members of the *širkûtu,* with the probable exception of those that were temporarily placed at the disposal of outside individuals. It is likely that the latter were taken care of by those who had the advantage of their service.

Garment given to a *širku.*

AENN 161—1 *1* ^{ṣubât}*KUR-RA*[18] 2 *ša a-na 8 ma-na šipâtê*^{zun} 3 *na-ša-'* 4 *a-na* ^{md}*Bêl-e-ṭe-ru* 5 ^{h}*šim-ki na-din* 6 ^{arab}*Ṭebêtu ûmu 9*^{kam} 7 *šattu 36*(*?*)^{kam} 8 ^{d}*Nabû-kudurri-uṣur* 9 *šar Bâbili*^{ki}.

"1 1 *KUR-RA* garment, 2 which for 8 minas of wool 3 is brought, 4 to Bêl-êṭeru, 5 a *širku* is given. 6 The 9th of Ṭebet, 7 the 36th(?) year of 8 Nebuchadrezzar, 9 king of Babylon."

The temple authorities apparently kept themselves thoroughly posted as to the needs of individual members of the *širkûtu.* The above document indicates that a garment was brought to the temple

[16]Numerous texts in *GCBC* indicate that *GIŠ* = *našû.* Cf. *AENN* 405:4-7; 72:6-10; and 36:7, 10. For a full discussion see *AENN,* Introduction, p. 20f.

[17]Cf. *StrNbn* 643:3; 976:9, 16; 1010:11; 1037:7; *StrNbk* 253:3; *StrCyr* 74:8.

[18]*ṣubât KUR-RA* may refer to some rough or heavy garment for use in altitudes above the plain, as a common meaning for *KUR-RA* is *šadû* = "mountain."

in exchange for wool, whereupon the garment was delivered to a *širku* who was in need of it. Cf. *NLE* 73:4-7.

The following excerpts from Goucher texts furnish further evidence of this practice and add in other ways to our knowledge of the *širkûtu*.

Flour given to the *širkê* of Bêl.

AENN 401—1 *30 qa qi-mu ša a-na* 2 ^{h}*širkê* (*PA-KAB-DU*^{me}) *ša* ^{d}*Bêl* 3 *ša a-na eli alpê*^{me} 4 *šap-ru-nu id-di-nu* 5 ^{m}*Zêr-bi-bi maḫir* (*-ir*).

"1 30 *qa* of flour which to 2 the *širkê* of Bêl, 3 who concerning oxen 4 are sent, they gave, 5 Zerbibi received."

Flour delivered to the *širkê* who drew an official's ship.

AENN 72:2-5—2 .....*qi-mu ša a-na* 3 5 ^{h}*ši-rak ša* ^{is}*elippa* 4 *ša* ^{h}*šatammi il-du-du-ú* 5 *na-din.*

"2 .....flour which to 3 5 members of the *širkûtu*, who the ship 4 of the administrator drew, 5 is given."

The reference here may be to men on the bank of a stream pulling a ship by means of a rope or to men pulling a ship-wagon in a procession.[19]

In connection with these two texts recording the giving of flour to members of the *širkûtu*, the following passage in *AENN* 89:1-3 is interesting: .....*gur qîmi*(*ZID-DA*) *a-na* ^{is}*paššûri ša* ^{h}*ši-ra-ku,*

[19] *AENN* 80:1, 2, contains the following: *ḥṣâbême ša a-na ša-da-da ša iṣelippi ša ṣi-di-ti ša* ^{h}*BAN*^{me} *ša ḫši-rak u ḫrê'u.* . . . . , "workmen, or soldiers, which are for the drawing of the ship of the provisions of the bowmen of the members of the *širkûtu* and shepherds . . . . . Cf. *REN* 229:26 for the following: *5 gur a-na ḥṣâbême ša iṣelippa ša ṣubâtkusîti il-du-ud*, "5 kors for the workmen who drew the ship of temple vestments." See *NKI* p. 156 for reference to *Schiffswagen*. Also consult Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, p. 44. The *Schiffswagen*, according to Professor Haupt, was a processional ship on rollers used to convey the images of the gods. Cf. article on *Purim*, *BA* VI, 2, p. 25, l.37; *KAT*^{3} p. 515, l.3; *Johns Hopkins University Circular*, No. 327; Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898, pp. 653-655.

"....kor of flour for the table of the members of the *širkûtu.*" This seems to indicate that there was a special table for those who had been dedicated to the temple as servants.[20]

Barley supplied to the *širkê* sent to an official.

AENN 234:1-3—1 *1 gur 3 pi 27 qa ŠE-BAR ir-bi* 2 *a-na ṣi-di-ti ša 7 ʰši-rakᵐᵉš* 3 *ša a-na pâni ʰqi-i-pi šap-ru.*

"1 1 kor 3 *pi* 27 *qa* of barley, the income, 2 for the sustenance of 7 members of the *širkûtu,* 3 who to the governor are sent.[21]

Wine given to workmen, artisans, and members of the *širkûtu.*

AENN 235:1-11—1 *1 dan-nu šikarêᶻᵘⁿ a-na* 2 *ʰagarrûtuᵐᵉ ša dul-lu ina bît alpêᵐᵉ ip-pu-šu* 3 *1 dan-nu 18 qa a-na ʰši-rakᵐᵉš* 4 *ša ᵈBêl ša ši-pir-ti ša ʰsatammi* 5 *ša Ê-sag-íla a-na eli* 6 *ʰBANᵐᵉ a-na pâni ʰqi-i-pi iš-šú-ni* 7 *ta-lam-mu a-na ʰnaggarêᵐᵉ* 8 *ni-sip a-na ʰši-rakᵐᵉ ša ᵈŠamaš* 9 *18 qa a-na ʰbânê (DIMᵐᵉ)* 10 *napḫaru 13 ni-sip LAL šikarêᶻᵘⁿ* 11 *ᵐGi-mil-lu ma-ḫi-ir.*

"1 *1* cask of date wine, for 2 the laborers who perform work in the ox stable; 3 1 cask, 18 *qa,* for the *širkê* 4 of Bêl, who the message of the administrator 5 of Êsagila concerning 6 the bowmen to the governor bore; 7 a *talammu*[22] for the carpenters; 8 a *nisippu* for the *širkê* of Shamash; 9 18 *qa* for the builders; 10 a total of 13 *nisippu* lacking of date wine; 11 Gimillu received."

[20]The Syriac equivalent of *paššûru,* ܦܰܫܫܽܘܪܳܐ , is the term used to designate "altar," "communion table." Cf. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln,* p. 94, for evidence that the *paššûru* in Babylonian temples was used in connection with sacrificial feasts. The *širkûtu* as a subordinate class of temple servants may have taken part in the ritual at a table separate from the rest of the worshippers. However, *paššûru* in this text may simply refer to the ordinary table at which the members of the *širkûtu* partook of their meals.

[21]Cf. *YBT* Vol. VII 132:8-11 for an additional instance of the sending of *širkê* upon a special mission.

[22]Other references to *talammu* as an apparent measure of wine are the following: *AENN* 64:1; 100:1; 118:1; 119:1; 183:1. In all these cases *talammu* is singular and unaccompanied by a numeral. Hence it may be a general term from *talâmu* = "to present," "to give." Cf. *CD* p. 1162. If this derivation is correct *talammu šikari* would mean "a presentation of date wine," and this may have attained a technical significance. Another possible root is *lamû* = "to surround," and one may think of a vessel as that which surrounds what it contains. *Talîmu* = "companion" should also be noted. Were the capacities of *dannu* and *nisippu* known in terms of *qa* it would be possible to determine the relative size of a *talammu.*

This itemized receipt of the 38th year of Nebuchadrezzar classes members of the *širkûtu* with stable men, carpenters and builders. At the same time it indicates that *širkê* were used as postmen for the purpose of bearing important messages from one official to another.

Reference to the seal of a *širku.*

AENN 125:1-9—1 *5 ma-na šipâtê*^{zun} 2 *a-na su-'-ú-du* 3 *a-na* ^{m}*Nâdina (-na)-aplu* 4 *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Šum-ukîn nadna(-na)* 5 *ša kunukka* 6 *ša* ^{md}*Ištar-e-du-uṣur* 7 ^{h}*šir-ki* 8 *a-na Ê-an-na* 9 *id-di-nu.*

"1 5 minas of wool 2 for *su'udu*[23] 3 to Nâdina-aplu, 4 the son of Shum-ukîn, are given, 5 who the seal 6 of Ishtar-edu-uṣur, 7 a *širku,* 8 to Êanna 9 gave.

This reference to a seal(*TAK-ŠID*) of a *širku* is unique. If a seal cylinder is meant, Ishtar-edu-uṣur must have been a *širku* of more than ordinary standing, but the full import of the statement is not easy to determine. There are additional references to the *širkûtu* in texts Nos. 96, 101, 204, 247, 326 and 402 of *AENP,* Vol. II of *GCCI.* No. 101 indicates that *širkê* performed the work of goldsmiths. No. 247:8 contains the phrase *a-na bul-luṭ ša* ^{h}*ši-ra-ku,* which is further evidence that special provision was made for the sustenance of members of the order.

Text in the Collection of *L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes.*

The autographed copy, transliteration, translation and discussion of this text were published by Scheil in *RA* Vol. XII, pp. 1-13, under the title *La libération judiciaire d'un fils.* It is a document of great value.

A son of a *širku* acquitted of a ten year claim and given as a *širku* to Ishtar.

1 ^{m}*Ina-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i* ^{h}*MU apil-šu ša* ^{m}*A-ḫu-šu-nu* ^{h}*širku(PA-KAB-DU)* 2 *ša* ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} ^{h}*daianê*^{meš} *ša* ^{md}*Nergal-šar-uṣur šar Bâbili*^{ki} 3 *im-ḫu-ur um-ma* 10 *šanâti-'*^{meš} ^{m}*A-ḫu-šu-nu a-bu-ú-a* 4 *ku-um 2/3 ma-na 2 šiqil kaspi i-na pa-ni* ^{f}*A-ḫa-ta-'* 5 ^{f}*sa-gi-it-tum maš-ka-nu ki-i iš-ku-na-an-ni*

[23]The word *su'udu* may be connected with סָעַד = "to sustain," "to support," "to aid."

a-pal-laḫ-šu 6 *ᶠA-ḫa-ta-' šim-ta ú-bil-šu-ma ar-ki-tam* 7 *ᶠBa-na-at-ina-Ê-sag-ila ta-ap-pa-qid-ma a-di ū-mu an-na-a* 8 *man-da-at-tu a-na-ad-din-šu it-ti ᶠBa-na-at-*[*ina*]*-Ê-sag-ila* 9 *ip-ša-in-ni di-i-ni ʰdaianêᵐᵉš a-ma-tum ᵐIna-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i* 10 *iš-mu-ma ᶠBa-na-at-ina-Ê-sag-ila i-bu-ku-nim-ma* 11 *i-na ma-ḫar-šu-nu uš-zi-iz-zu di-i-ni id-bu-bu-ma* 12 *di-in-šu-nu ú-par-*[*ri*]*-šu-ma ᶠBa-na-at-ina-Ê-sag-ila iš-ta-lu-ma* 13 *6 šanâtiᵐᵉš pa-la-ḫu ša ᵐIna-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i ip-la-ḫu-uš* 14 *i-na eli ram-ni-šu tu-kin e-lat 4 šanâtiᵐᵉš* 15 *ša ᶠA-ḫa-ta-' ᶠsa-gi-it-tum maḫ-ri-tum ip-la-ḫi* 16 *e-ṣip 20 gur ŠE-BAR ša e-lat man-da-at-ti-šu ina šatti 2ᵏᵃᵐ* 17 *ᵐᵈNergal-šar-uṣur šar Bâbilᵏⁱ ᶠBa-na-at-*[*ina*]*-Ê-sag-ila* 18 *tam-ḫu-ru-uš ʰdaianêᵐᵉš nikasu ša kaspi u ḫubulli-šu* 19 *ša ᶠA-ḫa-ta-' i-pu-šu-ma 2/3 ma-na 2 šiqil kaspi-šu* 20 *i-ṣi-pu-ma a-na 1 1/3 ma-na 4 šiqil kaspi ú-ša-az-zi-zu* 21 *ù nikasu ša man-da-at-ta ša ᵐIna-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i ʰMU* 22 [*ina*] *6*(*?*) *šanâtiᵐᵉš a-ki-i qi-bi ša ᶠBa-na-at-ina-Ê-sag-ila* 23 [*i*]*-pu-šu-ma 72 gur ŠE-BAR e-lat 20 gur ŠE-BAR nin-di* 24 [*ša*] *ᶠBa-na-at-ina-Ê-sag-ila tam-ḫu-ru-uš* 25 [*92*] *gur ŠE-BAR e-li ᶠBa-na-at-*[*ina*]*-Ê-sag-ila* 26 [*im*]*-nu e-ṣip ša 4 šanâtiᵐᵉš ᶠA-ḫa-ta-'* 27 [*ᶠsa*]*-gi-it-tum maḫ-ri-tum ip-la-ḫu* 28 *.....ku-ma.....šu 2 ma-na* [*6*]*šiqil kaspi* 29 [*e*]*-li ᶠBa-*[*na-at-ina-É-sag-ila*] *ᶠsa-git-tum im-nu-ma* 30 [*ra*]*-šú-tam ša ᶠA-ḫa-ta-' ᶠᶠsa-git-tum maḫ-ri-tum* 31 *i-pu-lu-uš ù ᵐIna-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i ʰši-ir-ku ša* 32 *ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ itti pa-ni ᶠBa-na-at-*[*ina*]*-Ê-sag-ila* 33 *i-bu-ku-nim-ma a-na ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ id-di-ni* 34 *di-in-šu-nu di-i-ni a-mat-su-nu gam-rat ma-ti-ma* 35 *a-na la e-ni-e ʰdaianêᵐᵉš dup-pi iš-ṭu-ru* 36 *i-na kunukkê-šu-nu ib-ru-mu-ma a-na ᵐIna-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i id-di-ni.*

"1 Ina-ṣilli-bâbî,[24] a servant,[25] the son of Aḫushunu, a *širku* 2 of Innina of Erech, the judges of Neriglissar, king of Babylon, 3 implored as follows: 'For a period of 10 years Aḫushunu, my father, 4 for 2/3 of a mina and 2 shekels of silver at the disposal of Aḫata', 5 a *sagittum*,[26] placed me as a pledge, that I should serve her. 6 Fate removed Aḫata' and since then 7 Bânât-ina-Êsagila has been in charge, and until this day 8 I have given her the payment. (As to my affair) with Bânât-[ina]-Êsagila 9 render

[24] *Ina-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i* might be read *Ina-ṣilli-abulli*, as *KA-GAL* = *abullu*. However, the *i* after *GAL* seems to point to the former pronunciation, as Scheil suggests.

[25] Scheil regards *ʰMU* as standing for *ḫnuḫatimmu* = "baker." While this is not impossible, its meaning in this connection may be similar to *ḫqallu*. Cf. *TlqNB* p. 90. See note 44.

[26] *Sa-gi-it-tum*, variant writing *sa-git-tum* in lines 29 and 30, is explained by Scheil as a derivative from *sagâdu* or *sagânu*, more probably the latter, which is connected with סָגַן = "governor." However סָגַד = "to fall down in adoration," "to prostrate oneself in idol worship," is very suggestive.

me a judgment.' The judges the statement of Ina-ṣilli-bâbi-rabî 10 heard and brought Bânât-ina-Êsagila and 11 in their presence they made her appear. They pronounced a judgment and 12 gave their decision. Bânât-ina-Êsagila they questioned and 13 the 6 years of service, which Ina-ṣilli-bâbi-rabî served her, 14 she acknowledged as having received (literally, established against herself); in addition (there were) 4 years 15 during which he served Aḫata', the former *sagittum,* 16 (and) furthermore (there were) 20 kors of barley, which as a supplementary payment from him in the 2d year of 17 Neriglissar, king of Babylon, Bânât-[ina]-Êsagila 18 received. The judges made the computation of the money and its interest 19 belonging to Aḫata', and the 2/3 of a mina and 2 shekels of her silver 20 they increased and determined (the interest as amounting) to 1 1/3 minas and 4 shekels of silver. 21 Also the computation of the payment of Ina-ṣilli-bâbi-rabî, the servant, 22 for 6 years according to the statement of Bânât-ina-Êsagila 23 they made and 72 kors of barley, in addition to the 20 kors of barley *nindi*[27] 24 which Bânât-ina-Êsagila received from him, (a total of) 25 [92] kors of barley (as having been paid) to Bânât-[ina]-Êsagila 26 they reckoned. Furthermore, as to the 4 years (during which) Aḫata', 27 the former *sagittum,* he served, 28 ....2 minas and 6 shekels of silver 29 (as having been paid) to Bânât-ina-Êsagila, the *sagittum,* they reckoned and 30 the claim of Aḫata', the former *sagittum,* 31 they declared paid by him. Then Ina-ṣilli-bâbi-rabî, a *širku of* 32 Innina of Erech, from the control of Bânât-[ina]-Êsagila 33 they took and gave to Innina of Erech. 34 Their sentence has been pronounced; their statement is complete. Forever 35 without change the judges have written a document. 36 With their seals they have sealed (it) and to Ina-ṣilli-bâbi-rabî they have given (it)."

Names of two judges, five witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 11th of Kislev, the 2nd year of Neriglissar.

At the base of the reverse of the tablet are the seal impressions of the two judges.

This legal document illustrates the following main steps in Babylonian court procedure: (a) the appeal of the plaintiff; (b) the examination of the defendant; (c) the weighing of the testimony; (d) the verdict of the judges; (e) the permanent record of the case.

[27]The term *nin-di* is interesting. It also appears in *REN* 63:1, *suluppu nin-di ša GIŠ-BAR,* and in *REN* 32:2, *ina nin-du ša suluppi.* Scheil suggests that *nindi* may stand for *nidni* and translates "delivery." Cf. *nindu* = "measure"(?), *B* 4660, and Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing,* No. 187, 11.

The facts presented in the record may be simply stated. As surety for a loan, a *širku* sold his son into virtual servitude for ten years to a *sagittum,* a female official whose function has not been fully determined. After four years the original creditor died and was succeeded by another who assumed her official position and rights, including what remained of the unpaid claim. At the end of the ten year period the matter was referred, not to the temple authorities, but to the civil court of the king which for some reason had jurisdiction over the case.

Two things had to be determined by the court, the sum total of the debt, including the interest for ten years, and the value of the service rendered by the son of the *širku* during the same period. The judges found that the latter was equivalent to the former[28] and hence the son of the *širku* was freed from further service, but was given as a *širku* to Innina, i. e., Ishtar of Erech.

It may be inferred that the father who made the debt had also died, as he does not figure in the trial. If he had been alive his testimony would have been valuable. Another thing that is a little uncertain is the original status of his son. However, the fact that he was finally given to the deity indicates what his destiny was as the son of a *širku.*[28a]

[28]The interest on 2/3 mina and 2 shekels for 10 years at 20% (the usual Babylonian rate) was 1 1/3 minas and 4 shekels, making a total of 2 minas and 6 shekels. Scheil determines that the value of the service rendered per day equaled 6 *qa* according to *StrCamb* 315 and 379. The amount for 4 years, counting 360 days to a year, would be 8640 *qa* or 48 *gur.* The amount for 6 years would be 12960 *qa* or 72 *gur.* There was an extra payment of 20 *gur* in the second year of Neriglissar, making a total of 140 *gur* of barley. The calculation of the judges was that the 140 *gur* equalled the 2 minas and 6 shekels in value. Thus I *gur* was worth 9/10 of a shekel. Scheil notes that in the time of Manishtusu the *gur* was worth 1 shekel. Hence the variation in price amounted to only 1/10 of a shekel in over 2,000 years.

[28a]Some doubt must be expressed as to whether *širku* in line 1 refers to *mIna-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i* or *mA-ḫu-šu-nu.* The occurrence of *ḫMU* before the expression *apil-šu ša* may indicate that *širku* is in apposition with *mAḫu-šu-nu.* This difficulty in interpretation does not destroy the value of the document as far as the *širkûtu* is concerned. There are indications that the offspring of a *širku* belonged to the order. Cf. *LCE* 106 and *REN* 224. In lines 31, 32, *mIna-ṣilli-bâbi-rabi-i* is described as *ḫši-ir-ku ša dInnina Urukki.* No doubt he was potentially, if not actually, a *širku* during the ten years of his special service, and became a full-fledged member of the order when he was presented to Ishtar at the end of that period. Cp. *YBT* Vol. VII 17:8-14; 66:17-21. Cf. Note 2a.

Though some points may be obscure, this tablet sheds the following light upon the *širkûtu*. A *širku* could borrow money by giving his son in the capacity of a slave as security, but a son so pledged did not lose all legal rights for he could appeal to the high court represented by the judges of the king. A point of great interest is the fact that this court recognized the rights of the temple as far as the *širkûtu* was concerned.

PRINCIPAL DISCUSSION.

Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection.

It will now be in order to present the documents contained in *REN* and *RECC*, Volumes VI and VII of *YBT*. These records contribute facts concerning the *širkûtu* which are all the more valuable because of what the preliminary discussion has revealed.

Dedication of two sons to the *širkûtu*.

REN 154—1 *fBa-na-at-dIn-nin mârat-su ša mdNergal-iddin* 2 *ina puḫri a-na mdNabû-šar-uṣur ḫšaqû šarri ḫbêl pi-qit-ti* 3 *Ê-an-na mGab-bi-ilâniméš-šar-uṣur ḫqi-i-pi ša Ê-an-na* 4 *ù mZêri-ia ḫšatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša mIb-na-a apil mE-gi-bi* 5 *taq-bi um-ma mdNabû-zêr-ukîn* 6 *ḫmutu-a a-na šimtum it-ta-lak su-un-qa* 7 *i-na ma-a-ta ša-kin-ma mdŠamaš-êriba ù mdŠamaš-li-û* 8 *mârêméš ṣa-ḫir-ú-tu kak-kab-ti aš-mit-ma* 9 *a-na dBêlit ša Urukki ad-din bul-liṭ-a.....* 10 *lu-ú ḫši-ra-ku ša dBêlit ša Urukki šú-nu* 11 *mdNabû-šar-uṣur ḫqi-i-pi ḫšatammu ḫbêl pi-qitméš* 12 *ša Ê-an-na qa-bu-ú ša fBa-na-at-dInnina(-na)mârat-su ša mdNergal-iddin* 13 *iš-mu-ú-ma kurummatêzun ul-tu Ê-an-na a-na mdŠamaš-êriba* 14 *u mdŠamaš-li'û id-di-nu mdŠamaš-êriba u mdŠamaš-li'û ḫši-ra-ku* 15 *ša dBêlit ša Urukki šu-nu.*

"1 Bânât-Innin, the daughter of Nergal-iddin, 2 in the assembly to Nabû-shar-uṣur, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer 3 of Êanna, Gabbi-ilâni-shar-uṣur, the guardian of Êanna, 4 and Zêrîa, the administrator of Êanna, the son of Ibnâ, son of Egibi, 5 spoke as follows: 'Nabû-zêr-ukîn, 6 my husband, has gone to his fate. Famine 7 is established in the land and Shamash-êriba and Shamash-li'û, 8 infant sons,[29] I have marked with a star and 9 given to the Bêlit of Erech. As long as they live, 10 let them be members of the *širkûtu* of the Bêlit of Erech.' 11 Nabû-shar-uṣur, the guardian, the administrator and the chief overseers 12 of Êanna the statement of Bânât-Innina, the daughter of Nergal-iddin, 13 heard and food from Êanna to Shamash-êriba 14 and Shamash-li'û gave. Shamash-êriba and Samash-li'û are members of the *širkûtu* 15 of the Bêlit of Erech."

In the presence of the chief officer of Erech. Names of 5 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 28th of Adar, the 11th year of Nabonidus.

[29] *Ṣa-ḫir-ú-tu* may be regarded as either a plural or abstract form.

The above document describes how a widow in the time of famine saved her two little sons from starvation by dedicating them to the goddess of Ishtar as members of the *širkûtu* for life. In thus saving her offspring from death she apparently renounced all further claim as a parent. Her renunciation was public and must have been an impressive ceremony. The implanting of the mark of a star evidently symbolized a complete transference of ownership. There is no intimation that a recompense was awarded the mother. In Assyrian documents there is a reference to the dedication of two daughters to Shamash by their mother, with the stipulation that the daughters shall support their mother as long as she lives.[30] Possibly a widow considered it a great privilege to dedicate her children to a deity and some religious merit may have been attached to the deed. The dedication of the boy Samuel to Jehovah for life was a religious act on the part of Hannah.[31]

History contains no record of the famine referred to in this text. Scarcity of food may have existed only in Erech and its environs, or the condition may have been prevalent throughout Babylonia. It is interesting to note, however, that the temple was well supplied with food. But there was no indiscriminate disbursement of supplies from the sacred storehouse even in the time of dire necessity on the part of the people. The temple required an ample return for any assistance it rendered.

Slave marked with a star and dedicated to Ishtar.

YBT Vol. VII 66—1 *fNu-ub-ta-a amtu ša mNâdina(-na)-aḫu apil-šu ša mdNabû-aḫêmeš-ukîn* 2 *ša taq-bu-ú um-ma mNâdina(-na)-aḫu bêli-ia kak-kab-tum* 3 *ki-i iš-mi-tan-ni a-na d[Bêlit] ša Urukki uz-zak-kan-na* 4 *mNâdina(-na)-aḫu bêla-a šim-tum ú-bil-šu-ma mdŠamaš-zêr-ušabši(-ši)* 5 *aḫu ša mNâdina(-na)-aḫu ša ar-ka-tum mNâdina(-na)-aḫu il-qu-ú* 6 *ul-tu bît mNâdina(-na)-aḫu[i]-bu-kan-ni-ma a-na dInnina Urukki* 7 *la id-di-na-an-ni mSu-qa-a-a mIddina(-na)-dNabû* 8 *ù mdNabû-aḫ-id-dan-nu mârêmeš-e-a ina bît mdŠamaš-zêr-ušabši(-ši) ú-lid* 9 *mdA-nu-šar-uṣur hqi-i-pi ša Ê-an-na mdNabû-mukîn-aplu* 10 *hšatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša mNa-di-nu apil mDa-bi-bi mdNabû-aḫ-iddin* 11 *hšaqû šarri hbêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na ù hDUB-*

[30]Cf. Johns *LCL* p. 224.
[31]I *Samuel* 1:24-28.

ŠAR^{me} 12 *ša Ê-an-na kak-kab-tum ša muḫ-ḫi ri-it-ti-šu i-mu-ru* 13 ^{md}*A-nu-šar-uṣur* ^{h}*qi-i-pi ša Ê-an-na* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu* 14 ^{h}*šatammu Ê-an-na* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{h}*šaqû šarri* $^{[h]}$*maṣṣar Ê-an-na* 15 *ù* ^{h}*DUB-ŠAR^{me} ša Ê-an-na* ^{f}*Nu-ub-ta-a* ^{m}*Šu-qa-a-a* 16 ^{m}*Iddina(-na)-*^{d}*Nabû u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-id-dan-nu mârê^{meš} -šu* 17 *ina pa-ni* ^{md}*Šâmaš-zêr-ušabši(-ši) ip-qi-du ū-mu ma-la* 18 *ša* ^{md}*Šamaš-zêr-ušabši(-ši) bal-ṭu ta-pal-la-aḫ-šu ul i-ṣab-bi-ma* 19 ^{md}*Šamaš-zêr-ušabši(-ši) a-na kaspi ul i-nam-din ù a-na ardi ul i-ḫir-r[i]* 20 *[ar]-ki* ^{md}*Šamaš-zêr-ušabši(-ši) a-na šim-tum it-ta-lak* 21 *[*^{h}*šir-ka]-tum*[32] *pa-ni* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} ta-ad-dag-gal.*

"1 Nubtâ, a female slave of Nâdina-aḫu, the son of Nabû-aḫê-ukîn, 2 who spoke as follows: 'Nâdina-aḫu, my master, when he 3 marked me with a star, dedicated me to the Bêlit of Erech. 4 Fate removed Nâdina-aḫu, my master, and Shamash-zêr-ushabshi, 5 the brother of Nâdina-aḫu, who took possession after Nâdina-aḫu, 6 from the house of Nâdina-aḫu took me and to Innina of Erech 7 did not give me. Suqâ, Iddina-Nabû 8 and Nabû-aḫ-iddannu, my sons, I bore in the house of Shamash-zêr-ushabshi.' 9 Anu-shar-uṣur, the guardian of Êanna, Nabû-mukîn-aplu, 10 the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nâdinu, son of Dabibi, Nabû-aḫ-iddin, 11 the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna and the scribes 12 of Êanna saw the star which was upon her hand. 13 Anu-shar-uṣur, the guardian of Êanna, Nabû-mukîn-aplu, 14 the administrator of Êanna, Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the keeper of Êanna, 15 and the scribes of Êanna placed Nubtâ, (and) Suqâ, 16 Iddina-Nabû and Nabû-aḫ-iddannu, her sons, 17 in the care of Shamash-zêr-ushabshi. As long as 18 Shamash-zêr-ushabshi lives, she shall serve (literally, reverence) him. He shall not desire (her), and 19 Shamash-zêr-ushabshi shall not give (her) for money, neither shall he marry (her) to a slave. 20 After Shamash-zêr-ushabshi has gone to his fate, 21 she shall belong to the Bêlit of Erech as a [female *širku*]."

Names of 5 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in (Erech), the 23d of Sivan, the 7th year of Cyrus.

This text indicates that a master could mark his female slave with a star and that this act signified dedication to Ishtar. The intimation is that a slave so consecrated might remain in her master's house until his death, unless we suppose that in this case death occurred so soon after the consecratory ceremony that the owner of the slave was prevented from carrying out his full purpose. The

[32] This restoration is made in accordance with *REN* 224:14, 15.

duty of the slave-master's brother as heir was to deliver the slave to the goddess. Instead of doing this he took her to his own house where she bore him three sons. For some reason or other the matter was brought to the attention of the temple authorities and Nubtâ, the branded slave, was admitted as a witness. The star mark upon her hand confirmed her testimony. The decision was that she and her three sons should remain with the brother of her former master until he died and then she was to belong to Ishtar. Nothing is said as to the disposition of her sons. It is probable that they also were claimed by the goddess, as the next text implies. The reason for this court trial may have been an attempt on the part of Shamash-zêr-ushabshi to sell Nubtâ or to marry her to a slave. If such was the case the document represents the successful appeal of a member of the *širkûtu* for justice.

Investigation of the status of a man whose grandmother had been dedicated to Ishtar.

REN 224—1 *^{m}Na-di-nu ^{h}ša-qú Uruk^{ki} mâri-šu ša ^{m}Ba-la-ṭu* 2 *^{m}Si-lim-ilu ^{h}šaqû šarri amêlu ša muḫ-ḫi qu-up-pi ša šarri* 3 *^{md}Dajân-aḫê^{meš} -iddin apil-šu ša ^{m}Gi-mil-lu apil ^{m}Ši-gu-ú-a* 4 *^{m}Nûr-e-a apil-šu ša ^{m}Ba-la-ṭu apil ^{m}Iddin-^{d}Pap-sukal* 5 *^{md}Bêl-ka-ṣir apil-šu ša ^{m}Mar-duk apil ^{m}Ki-din-^{d}Marduk* 6 *^{md}Nabû-zêr-lîšir apil-šu ša ^{m}Bêl-šu-nu apil ^{m}Ku-ri-i* 7 *^{md}Nabû-balâṭ-su-iq-bi apil-šu ša ^{m}Ib-na-a apil ^{m}Ê-kur-za-kir* 8 *^{md}Nabû-balâṭ-su-iq-bi apil-šu ša ^{m}Ki-na-a apil ^{m}Ḫu-un-zu-ú* 9 *^{m}Šú-zu-bu apil-šu ša ^{m}Kudurru apil ^{h}rê'u gi-ni-e* 10 *^{h}rab ba-ni-i sa ina manzazi-šu-nu ^{m}Kur-ban-ni-^{d}Marduk* 11 *^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša ^{m}Zêri-ia apil ^{md}Sin-da-ma-qu* ù 12 *Ilu-ri-man-ni ^{h}šaqû šarri ^{h}bêl pi-qit-ti Ê-an-na a-na* 13 *^{md}Šamaš-šum-iddin ú-ki-il-lu um-ma mâru ša ^{f}Si-lim-^{d}Ištar* 14 *mârat-su ša ^{f}Ḫar-ši-na-na ^{f}šir-ka-tum* 15 *ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} at-ta ^{md}Šamaš-šum-iddin iq-bi* 16 *um-ma ^{f}Ba-bu-nu mârat-su ša ^{m}Iddina(-na)-^{d}Marduk* 17 *ṭe-e-mu ša ^{f}Si-lim-^{d}Ištar ummi-ia ù ^{f}Ḫar-ši-na-na ummi ummi-ia* 18 *ḫar-ṣa-at i-na qâti-šu ḫur-ṣa-a-ni ^{h}ša-qú Uruk^{ki} ^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na* 19 *ù ^{h}šaqû šarri ^{f}Ba-bu-nu i-bu-ku-nim-ma šum ilâni^{meš} ù šarri* 20 *i-na puḫri ta-az-ku-ur ki-i a-na-ku kak-kab-ti ù ar-ra-a-tum* 21 *i-na muḫ-ḫi rit-ti ša ^{f}Ḫar-ši-na-na ^{f}qal-lat ša ^{m}Nâdina(-na)-aḫu* 22 *aḫi abi-ia ummi ummi ša ^{md}Šamaš-šum-iddin ša ^{m}Nâdina(-na)-aḫu aḫi abi-ia* 23 *i-na pa-na-at ša tul-la-du a-na ^{h}šir-ku-ú-tu a-na* 24 *^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} ú-zak-ku-šu la a-mu-ru ^{h}dupšarru* 25 *^{m}Ki-na-a apil-šu ša ^{m}Zi-ri-ia Uruk^{ki} ^{arab}Addaru arkû* 26 *ûmu 3^{kam} šattu 15^{kam} ^{d}Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili^{ki}.*

"1 Nâdinu, the chief officer(?)[33] of Erech, the son of Balâṭu, 2 Silim-ilu, the chief officer of the king in charge of the (revenue) chest of the king, 3 Dajân-aḫê-iddin, the son of Gimillu, son of Shigûa, 4 Nûrêa, the son of Balâṭu, son of Iddin-Papsukal, 5 Bêl-kâṣir, the son of Marduk, son of Kidin-Marduk, 6 Nabû-zêr-lîshir, the son of Bêlshunu, son of Kurî, 7 Nabû-balâṭsu-iqbi, the son of Ibnâ, son of Êkur-zâkir, 8 Nabû-balâṭsu-iqbi, the son of Kinâ, son of Ḫunzû, 9 Shûzubu, the son of Kudurru, son of the *rê'u ginê,* 10 the *rab bânî,* in whose presence Kurbanni-Marduk, 11 the administrator of Êanna, the son of Zêrîa, son of Sin-damâqu and 12 Ilu-rîmanni, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 13 detained[34] Shamash-shum-iddin on the following charge: 'Thou art the son of Silim-Ishtar, 14 the daughter of Ḫarshinana, a female *širku* 15 of the Bêlit of Erech.' Shamash-shum-iddin replied 16 as follows: 'Babunu, the daughter of Iddina-Marduk, 17 information concerning Silim-Ishtar, my mother, and Ḫarshinana, my grandmother, 18 has ascertained. Find out from her concerning me.' The chief officer(?) of Erech, the administrator of Eanna 19 and the chief officer of the king, brought Babunu and the oath of the gods and the king 20 in the assembly she swore as follows: 'The star and brandings 21 upon the hand of Ḫarshinana, the female slave of Nâdina-aḫu, 22 my uncle, the grandmother of Shamash-shum-iddin, whom Nâdina-aḫu, my uncle, 23 before she gave birth, for the *širkûtu* to 24 the Bêlit of Erech consecrated, I did not see.' Scribe, 25 Kinâ, the son of Zêrîa. Erech, 26 the 3d day of second Adar, the 15th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

The purport of this unique court record must be carefully studied. It is evident that the temple officials made an effort to hold a man for service as a *širku* because of his ancestry. Fortunately the man was able to refer to a female witness who gave important testimony in his behalf. It seems that Ḫarshinana was no longer living and thus could not rescue her grandson from his predicament. Nâdinu-aḫu may have been the man mentioned in the preceding text. The implications of the controversy are that a

[33] The text may be read *kša-ku* or *kša-qû* and the meaning is somewhat uncertain.

[34] The verb *kalû,* from which *ú-ki-il-lu* may be derived, means "to hold back," "to detain." However, its usual construction is not with the preposition *ana.* Either there is an unusual construction in this text or the stem must be sought elsewhere. The verb *qalû,* which means "to speak," "to call," is also used without *ana.* It might be used here in the sense of making complaint against someone. The context would not be violated if either verb were used. See *YBT* Vol. VII 146:13, 18.

man could be held as a member of the *širkûtu* if his grandmother had been branded with a star when she entered upon her career as a devotee of the temple. In other words, the status of the offspring of a branded *širku* was affected to at least the third generation. On the other hand, it may be assumed from this document that the absence of the star mark freed the offspring of a *širku* from the obligations of the order. It is natural to infer from these circumstances that there were two classes of the *širkûtu,* one marked or branded with the figure of a star and the other unbranded.

Record concerning a female slave that had been branded and dedicated to Ishtar.

REN 79—1 ^{md}*Nabû-šar-uṣur* ^{h}*šaqû šarri* ^{h}*bêl pi-qit-ti Ê-an-na* 2 ^{m}*Gab-bi-ilâni*^{meš} *-šar-uṣur* ^{h}*qi-i-pi Ê-an-na* 3 ^{md}*Nabû-šum-ukîn apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-êṭir-napšâti*^{meš} *apil* ^{m}*Ba-bu-tu* 4 ^{m}*Šul-lum apil-šu ša* ^{m}*A-ḫu-lap-ia apil* ^{m}*E-gi-bi* 5 ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}*Bêl apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-zêr-iddin apil* ^{h}*aduppu* 6 ^{m}*Ba-laṭ-su apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ri-mut apil* ^{m}*Ili'-*^{d}*Marduk* 7 ^{m}*Ṣil-me apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nergal-nâṣir apil* ^{h}*išparu* 8 ^{h}*mâr bânî*^{meš} *ša ina manzazi-šu-nu* ^{md}*Bêl-uballiṭ(-iṭ)* 9 *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Mušallim-*^{d}*Marduk apil* ^{m}*Gimil-*^{d}*Na-na-a* 10 *iq-bu-ú um-ma* ^{f}*Ḫu-za-zi-ti* 11 ^{h}*qal-lat ša* ^{m}*Ešî-êṭir apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Mušallim-*^{d}*Marduk apil* ^{m}*Gimil-*^{d}*Na-na-a* 12 *ša a-na* ^{m}*Ibna-a apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-êṭir a-na kaspi na-ad-na-ti* 13 *ina pa-na-at ša a-na kaspi a-na* ^{m}*Ibna-a tan-na-an-di-nu* 14 ^{m}*Ešî-êṭir aḫu-ú-a kak-kab-ti ù ar-ra-a-ti* 15 *ina eli* ^{šir}*rit-ti-šu it-ta-di ù a-na* 16 ^{h}*širkûtu(PA-KAB-DU-ú-tu) a-na* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *it-ta-din-su* 17 ^{h}*dupšarru* ^{md}*Innina-mukîn-aplu apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Zêri-ia Uruk*^{ki} 18 ^{arab}*Addaru ûmu 8*^{kam} *šattu 5*^{kam} ^{d}*Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili*^{ki}.

"1 Nabû-shar-uṣur, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 2 Gabbi-ilâni-shar-uṣur, the guardian of Êanna, 3 Nabû-shum-ukîn, the son of Nabû-êṭir-napshâti, son of Babûtu, 4 Shullum, the son of Aḫulâpîa, son of Egibi, 5 Rîmût-Bêl, the son of Nabû-zêr-iddin, son of the shipwright, 6 Balâṭsu, the son of Rîmût, son of Ili'-Marduk, 7 Ṣilme, the son of Nergal-nâṣir, son of the weaver, 8 the *mâr bânî*, in whose presence Bêl-uballiṭ, 9 the son of Mushallim-Marduk, son of Gimil-Nanâ, 10 spoke as follows: '(As to) Ḫuzaziti, 11 the female slave of Eshî-êṭir, the son of Mushallim-Marduk, son of Gimil-Nanâ, 12 who to Ibnâ, the son of Nabû-êṭir, for silver was given, 13 previous to the time when she to Ibnâ for silver was given, 14 Eshî-êṭir, my brother, the star and brandings 15 placed upon her hand and

for 16 the *širkûtu* to the Bêlit of Erech gave her. 17 Scribe, Innina-mukîn-aplu, the son of Zêrîa. Erech 18 the 8th day of Adar, the 5th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

The central fact in this document, of which *REN* 80 is a duplicate, is the sale of a female slave who had been branded with the star mark and dedicated to the *širkûtu*. After the sale the question of the temple's claim upon the slave seems to have arisen. Lack of details prevents a full reconstruction of all the circumstances. The conclusion is not inevitable that it was illegal to sell a slave which had been dedicated to a deity. Cf., however, *YBT* Vol. VII 66:19 for the interdiction of such a sale. The object of the testimony may have been to impress the buyer with the fact that his recently acquired slave was liable to service in the temple. Or, it is possible to imagine, in accordance with the preceding document, that the status of offspring, born either before or after the sale, may have been at the basis of the controversy. As in many similar records, the statement of the witness is not followed by a pronouncement of the court. Evidently in certain cases the application of Babylonian law was automatic. What was said by way of testimony seems to have been sufficient to determine the outcome of the case without the recorded ruling of those who sat in judgment or were simply present as representatives of the temple. This makes the task of the modern interpreter of Babylonian court records more difficult than if a greater wealth of details allowed the drawing of surer inferences.

Testimony concerning the star mark upon a woman's hand.

REN 57—1 ^{md}*Marduk-šum-iddin apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫê^{meš} -uballiṭ(-iṭ) apil* ^{m}*Balâṭu* 2 ^{md}*Bêl-ibni apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Bul-luṭ apil* ^{h}*bâ'iru* 3 ^{m}*Ki-rib-tum apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Na-din apil* ^{m}*Ba-bu-ut-tum* 4 ^{m}*Ṣil-me apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nergal-nâṣir apil* ^{h}*išparu* 5 ^{md}*Na-na-a-iddin apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-bâni-aḫi apil* ^{m}*Ê-kur-za-kir* 6 ^{h}*mu-kin-ni-e ša ina pa-ni-šu-nu* 7 ^{md}*Nabû-mušêtiq-urra apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Bêl-šu-nu* ..... 8 *a-na* ^{md}*Nabû-šar-uṣur* ^{h}*šaqû* [*šarri*] 9 ^{h}*bêl pi-qit-tu Ê-an-na iq-*[*bi*] 10 *um-ma ina šatti 35* ^{kam} ^{d}*Nabû-kudurri-uṣur* 11 *kak-kab-tum ina muḫ-ḫi rit-ti ša* ^{f}..... 12 ^{f}*qal-lat ša* ^{md}*Nabû-mušêtiq-urra* 13 *ina* ^{âl}*Ša-da-ṭu a-ta-mar.*

"1 Marduk-shum-iddin, the son of Nabû-aḫê-uballiṭ, son of Balâṭu, 2 Bêl-ibni, the son of Bulluṭ, son of the fisherman, 3 Kiribtum, the son of Nâdin, son of Babuttum, 4 Ṣilme, the son of Nergal-nâṣir, son of the weaver, 5 Nanâ-iddin, the son of Nabû-bâni-aḫi, son of Êkur-zâkir, 6 witnesses, in whose presence 7 Nabû-mushêtiq-urra, the son of Bêlshunu ....., 8 to Nabû-shar-uṣur, the chief officer of the king, 9 the chief overseer of Êanna, spoke 10 as follows: 'In the 35th year of Nebuchadrezzar 11 the star upon the hand of ....., 12 the female slave of Nabû-mushêtiq-urra, 13 in the city of Shadaṭu I saw.' "

Name of scribe. Dated in Erech, the 13th of Adar, the 4th year of Nabonidus.

This legal document furnishes another instance of the determination of the length of time a member of the *širkûtu* had been connected with the order. The testimony, though brief, indicates that the one who uttered it had a good memory, as he recalled what he saw in a certain place eighteen years before. Here again the facts are too meager to warrant definite conclusions, but it may be assumed that the status of offspring was in question, or possibly the legality of some intervening transaction was being investigated.

Slave dedicated to Ishtar.

YBT Vol. VII 17—1 *^{md}Nabû-aḫê^{meš}-bul-liṭ apil-šu ša* 2 *^{md}Nabû-šum-ukîn apil ^{ḫ}šangû-^{d}Enurta* 3 *ù ^{f}Bul-ṭa-a mârat-su* 4 *ša ^{md}Bêl-ušallim apil ^{m}Kuri-i* 5 *aššatu-šu ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šu-nu* 6 *^{m}Aḫ-iddin qal-la-šu-nu* 7 *a-na balâṭ napšâti^{meš}-šu-nu a-na ^{d}Ištar* 8 *id-di-nu-' ū-mu ma-la* 9 *^{md}Nabû-aḫê^{meš}-bul-liṭ ù* 10 *^{f}Bul-ṭa-a bal-ṭu-nu* 11 *^{m}Aḫ-iddin i-pal-laḫ-šu-nu-tu* 12 *ina ū-mu ina ši-mat it-tal-ku-'* 13 *^{m}Aḫ-iddin ^{ḫ}šîm-ki* 14 *ša ^{d}Ištar iš-šú-u*[35] 15 *ša da-ba-ba an-na-a* 16 *in-nu-ú ^{d}A-nu u ^{d}Ištar* 17 *ḫalaqa-šu liq-bu-ú.*

"1 Nabû-aḫê-bulliṭ, the son of 2 Nabû-shum-ukîn, son of the priest of Enurta, 3 and Bulṭâ, the daughter 4 of Bêl-ushallim, son of Kurî, 5 his wife, of their own free will, 6 Aḫ-iddin, their slave, 7 for the preservation of their lives, to Ishtar 8 gave. As long as 9 Nabû-aḫê-bulliṭ and 10 Bulṭâ live, 11 Aḫ-iddin shall serve them. 12 When they have gone to (their)

[35]The form *iš-šú-ú* is difficult to translate. The context requires *šú-ú* and the scribe may have made a mistake. Cf. *REN* 2:20 for *ša dBêlit ša Urukki šú-ú*, *REN* 154:14, 15 for *ḫši-ra-ku ša dBêlit ša Urukki šu-nu*, and *REN* 186:4, 5 for *ʃza-*[*ki-ti*] *ša dBêlit ša Urukki ši-i.*

fate, 13 Aḫ-iddin a *širku* 14 of Ishtar shall be(?). 15 Whoever this agreement 16 changes, may Anu and Ishtar 17 decree his destruction!''

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 14th of Kislev, the 3d year of Cyrus.

This text shows that the custom existed of voluntarily dedicating a slave to the deity with the expectation of divine favor, as the expression ''for the preservation of their lives'' indicates. Another interesting feature is the provision that the consecrated slave shall serve the man and wife, who own him, as long as they live.[36] That the contract was inviolable is suggested by the striking oath at the close.

Record of the adoption of offspring by a *širku*.

REN 2—1 ^{md}*Ištar-šum-lîšir apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ê-kur-za-kir* 2 *ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šu* 2(*-ta*) KUŠ^{meš} (?) 3 *ina* ^{md}*Nabû-ina-ka-a-ri-lu-mur* 4 ^{ḫ}*qal-la-šu* ^{ḫ}*Mi-ṣir-a-a* 5 *a-na* ^{md}*Ištar-ab-uṣur* ^{ḫ}*qal-la-šu* 6 ^{ḫ}*šir-ku ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} 7 *a-na* ^{ḫ}*mâru-ú-tu id-din* 8 *man-na at-ta lu-ú* ^{ḫ}*šak-nu* 9 *lu-ú* ^{ḫ}*ša-pi-ru ša dib-bi* 10 *an-nu-tu innû*(*BAL-ú*) ^{d}*Bêl u* ^{d}*Nabû* 11 ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *u* ^{d}*Na-na-a* 12 *ḫalaqa-šu liq-bu-ú* 13 *ina šatti 5 šiqil kaspi* 2(*-ta*)..... 14 ^{md}*Nabû-ina-ka-a-ri-lu-mur* 15 *a-na* ^{md}*Ištar-ab-uṣur* 16 *i-nam-din* 17 *ina ū-mu* ^{md}*Ištar-ab-uṣur* 18 *ina ši-ma-ti it-tal-ku* 19 ^{md}*Nabû-ina-ka-a-ri-lu-mur* 20 *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *šú-ú.*

''1 Ishtar-shum-lîshir, the son of Êkur-zâkir, 2 of his own free will two offspring(?) 3 from Nabû-ina-kâri-lûmur, 4 his Egyptian slave, 5 to Ishtar-ab-uṣur, his slave, 6 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, 7 for sonship gave. 8 Whoever thou art, whether governor 9 or administrator, who 10 changes this agreement, may Bêl and Nabû, 11 the Bêlit of Erech and Nanâ 12 decree his destruction! 13 Yearly five shekels of silver..... 14 Nabû-ina-kâri-lûmur 15 to Ishtar-ab-uṣur 16 shall give. 17 When Ishtar-ab-uṣur 18 has gone to (his) fate, 19 Nabu-ina-kâri-lûmur 20 shall belong to the Bêlit of Erech.''

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 10th of Elul, the accession year of Nabonidus.

[36]Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 6, p. 672, for an instance of the dedication of a slave to Zeus Basileus and Trophonius with the provision that the slave must render 10 years more service to the family dedicating him. Consult Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 2, p. 167, for reference to the fact that wealthy Greeks dedicated slaves to Aphrodite. Cf. *RA* 1918, pp. 61-64. See *LCE* 120.

An unusual expression in this text should be noted. In line 2 appears *2(-ta) KUS^{meš}* where we would expect a term denoting offspring. Possibly *KUŠ* = "skin," "flesh," "body," is used idiomatically for offspring. This doubtful reading does not throw uncertainty upon the import of the document which represents the transference of offspring from an Egyptian slave to a *širku* who was a slave.[37] The master who owned both slaves performed the act of transference. The official alteration of the document was strictly forbidden and it was stipulated that the Egyptian slave should pay a yearly stipend to the *širku* and should belong to Ishtar, i. e., become a *širku,* when the *širku* died. The main point is that a master could have dealings with a slave that had been dedicated to a deity. At the same time we gain a glimpse of the domestic life of the *širkûtu.* A member of that organization could adopt children, which means that he could assume legal responsibility.

Determination of the status of two brothers as members of the *širkûtu.*

REN 116—1 *^{m}Ina-Ê-sag-ila-zêr apil-šu ša ^{m}Ša-pî-^{d}Bêl apil ^{m}[Amêl]-^{d}Êa* 2 *^{m}Im-bi-ia apil-šu ša ^{m}Ta-qîš-^{d}Gula apil ^{m}Ḫa-nap* 3 *^{m}Ba-laṭ-su apil-šu ša ^{md}Bêl-aḫê^{me}-iddin apil ^{m}Kuri-i* 4 *^{m}Ki-na-a apil-šu ša ^{m}Na-din apil ^{m}Da-bi-bi* 5 *^{m}Šú-la-a apil-šu ša ^{m}Kudurru apil ^{m}Ri-ma-a-nu* 6 *^{h}mârê^{meš} bâni-i ú-šú-uz-zi-šu-nu* 7 *^{m}Bâni-ia ^{h}šanû(-ú) ša ^{h}rabi ^{h}ašaridi* 8 *^{is}pidna(DA) ša ^{h}BAN^{meš} ša ^{h}rabi ^{h}ašaridi* 9 *ina muḫ-ḫi šaṭ-ra-tu* [*šu*]*b-ša-am-ma* 10 *ina puḫri il-su-ú-ma ^{m}Mu-še-zib-^{d}Bêl* 11 *u ^{m}Gi-mil-lu aḫu-šu ^{h}širkê(PA-KAB-DU^{me})* 12 *ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} ina lib-bi la ša-*[*-aṭ*]*-ru* 13 *ù ina ^{is}pidni(DA) ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} it-ti* 14 *^{h}širkê(PA-KAB-DU^{meš}) ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} šaṭ-ru* 15 *^{m}Mušêzib-^{d}Bêl u ^{m}Gi-mil-lu ^{h}širkê(PA-KAB-DU^{me})* 16 *ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} šu-nu.*

"1 Ina-Êsagila-zêr, the son of Sha-pî-Bêl, son of Amêl-Êa, 2 Imbîa, the son of Taqîsh-Gula, son of Ḫanap, 3 Balâṭsu, the son of Bêl-aḫê-iddin, son of Kurî, 4 Kinâ, the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, 5 Shulâ, the son of Kudurru, son of Rîmânu, 6 *mârê bânî,* in whose presence 7 Bânîa, the second officer of the noble prince,[38] 8 the record of the bowmen of the noble prince 9 caused to be in writing and 10 in the assembly announced as follows:

[37] Cf. *REN* 148:3 for reference to an Egyptian *širku* of Nergal.

[38] Both *GAL* and *SAG* mean prince. The combination evidently means a prince of high standing, or chief prince.

'Mushêzib-Bêl 11 and Gimillu, his brother, as *širkê* 12 of the Bêlit of Erech in it are not recorded, 13 but in the record of the Bêlit of Erech together with 14 the *širkê* of the Bêlit of Erech they are recorded.' 15 Mushêzib-Bêl and Gimillu are *širkê* 16 of the Bêlit of Erech.''

Name of scribe. Dated in Erech, the 23d of Tammuz, the 10th year of Nabonidus.

A controversy of a different type is presented in this document. There was evidently some question as to whether two brothers belonged to the *širkûtu*. The matter was decided by referring to the records. It is interesting to find that two records were kept, one by the nobility and one by the temple.[39] The latter took the precedence in cases of dispute. Apparently the two brothers were not branded with the symbol of the goddess, as that would have made a recourse to records unnecessary. Cf. *NLE* 17:40-44.

Legal transference of two daughters to two women.

REN 129—1 *fḪa-an-na-' fza-ki-ti ša dBêlit ša Urukki* 2 *ša kak-kab-ti še-en-di* [*ṣab*]*-ti ša fBu-'-i-ti* 3 *mârat-su ša mŠa-pi-i-dBêl aššat mZêr-ukîn* 4 *rit-ti ša fIna-dNa-na-a-ul-ta-ra*..... 5 *ù fIna-qât-dNa-na-a-ša-kin mârâtimeš-šu* 6 *tal-ṭu-ru hmârê*.....*meš ša* [*ša-ṭa*]*-ru* 7 *ša fḪa-an-na-' ša kak-kab-ti še-en-di* 8 *ša ša-ṭa-ri ša rit-ti ša mârâtimeš-šu* 9 *ša ištênit*(*-it*) *a-na fBu-'-i-ti ù* 10 *istênit*(*-it*) *a-na fLi-'-ú-du-dNa-na-a* 11 *ša-aṭ-ra i-mu-ru.*

''1 (With reference to the fact that) Ḫanna', a consecrated one of the Bêlit of Erech, 2 of the star mark, the prisoner of Bu'iti, 3 the daughter of Sha-pî-Bêl, the wife of Zêr-ukîn, 4 the hand(mark) of Ina-Nanâ-ultara ..... 5 and Ina-qât-Nanâ-šakin, her daughters, 6 wrote, the *mârê*..... of the writing(?) 7 of Ḫanna', of the star mark, 8 as to the writing of the hand(mark) of her daughters, 9 of one to Bu'iti 10 and the other to Li'udu-Nanâ, 11 the writing saw.''

In the presence of 8 persons. Name of scribe. Dated in Erech, the 9th of Tishri, the 8th year of Nabonidus.

The unusual terms in this document are *za-ki-ti* and *kak-kab-ti še-en-di*. The explanation of these terms in the concluding discussion[40] determines their meaning as given in the translation. Hanna'

[39]Cf. *AENN* 361 for an interesting example of the record of the dedication of a single individual to the *širkûtu*. *HRETA* 132 records the dedication of 44 persons.

[40]See pages 81 ff.

was a female *širku,* marked with Ishtar's symbol. The reading *ṣab-ti* is not entirely certain, but it is rendered probable by the circumstances recorded in the tablet. (Cf. *YBT* Vol. 137:8, 9.) As one held in some kind of restraint by Bu'iti, Ḫanna' would be likely to relinquish one of her daughters in her favor and this is borne out by the facts. The idiom used to denote the act of transference is *rittu....šaṭâru.*[41] The document, difficult to translate on account of involved phraseology, furnishes an instance of a member of the *širkûtu* exercising some control in the disposal of offspring. That is, the daughters of Ḫanna', even though she was undergoing some form of detention, were not disposed of without her legal acquiescence.

Testimony by a son that his mother was a member of the *širkûtu.*

REN 186—1 ^{md}*Nabû-a-*[*ša-rid*] *apil-šu ša* ^{f}*Kul-*[*la-a*] 2 ^{f}*za-*[*ki*]*-ti ša a-na* ^{md}*Nabû-šar-uṣur* 3 ^{h}*šaqû šarri iq-bu-ú um-ma* 4 ^{f}*Kul-la-a ummu-a* ^{f}*za-*[*ki-ti*] 5 *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *ši-i ù* 6 *a-na bît* ^{h}*širki*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *te-te-ru-ub* 7 ^{arab}*Ab ûmu 10*^{kam} *šattu 7* ^{kam} 8 ^{d}*Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili*^{ki}.

"1 Nabû-asharid, the son of Kullâ, 2 a consecrated one, who to Nabû-shar-uṣur, 3 the chief officer of the king, spoke as follows: '4 Kullâ, my mother, is a consecrated one 5 of the Bêlit of Erech and 6 into the house of a *širku* she has entered.' 7 The 10th of Ab, the 7th year of 8 Nabonidus, king of Babylon."

This document is a simple statement made by a man to a high official without the usual group of witnesses. The circumstances that caused the statement are not indicated. The man's mother may have been recreant in her duties as a member of the *širkûtu* or her status may have been in question for other reasons. It is difficult to believe that the status of the man himself was to be determined by his own testimony, or that his statement represents his dedication of his mother to the deity. The words appear more like the report of an accomplished fact. The document recording the consecration of this woman may have been missing, thus necessitating dependence upon this unusual means of verification. The reference to a *bît* ^{h}*širki* is interesting.[42]

[41] See page 82.

[42] This may mean that there were special quarters for female members of the *širkûtu.* See note 129. Cf. *Hammurabi Code* 110 for reference to the convent of votaries.

Record concerning the sale of a female *širku.*

YBT Vol. VII 91—1 *Duppi maḫîr(KI-LAM)* ^{f}*Tab-lu-ṭu amti ša* ^{md}*Nergal-aḫ-iddin* 2 ^{f}*širkatum (PA-KAB-DU-tum) ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *ša* $^{f\ âl}$*Ak-ka-du-ri-šat* 3 *mârat-su ša* ^{m}*Ri-mut i-na šatti 10*^{kam} ^{md}*Nabû-nâ'id* 4 *it-ti* ^{m}*Itti-*^{d}*Šamaš-balâṭu apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nergal-aḫ-iddin* 5 *te-pu-šú ša* ^{md}*Bêl-aḫê*^{meš} *-êriba apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ri-mut* 6 *aḫu ša* $^{f\ âl}$*Ak-ka-du-ri-šat iš-ša-am-ma* 7 *puḫru i-mu-ru.*

"1 The document of the price of Tabluṭu, the female slave of Nergal-aḫ-iddin, 2 a female *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, which Akkadu-rîshât, 3 the daughter of Rîmût, in the 10th year of Nabonidus 4 with Itti-Shamash-balâṭu, the son of Nergal-aḫ-iddin, 5 made, which Bêl-aḫê-êriba, the son of Rîmût, 6 the brother of Akkadu-rîshât, brought and 7 the assembly saw."

Names of 5 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 13th of Tammuz, the 6th year of Cyrus.

It seems that there was some controversy as to the status of a female *širku* who was sold 13 years prior to the date of this document. The brother of the woman who bought the female *širku* from the son of her owner produced the original record of the sale as evidence to the assembly of the temple that the transaction had acutally taken place. The presumption is that the temple had retained a record of the contract but that it had become lost. The duplicate, given to the woman who was a party to the contract and who carefully preserved it for 13 years, decided the case in her favor.

Five members of the *širkûtu* placed at the disposal of an individual.

REN 56—1 ^{fd}*Na-na-a-ki-ši-rat* ^{f}*Ša-ḫu-un-du* 2 *mârat-su* ^{m}*Ṭu-da-nu apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Šumu* 3 ^{f}*Nu-ub-ta-a* ^{f}*Bu-ra-šu-ša-ši-zib* 4 *napḫaru 5* ^{h}*a-me-lut-ti* ^{f}*šir-ki-a-ta* 5 *ša* ^{md}*Enurta-aḫ-iddin* ^{h}*ašaridu a-na* 6 ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *ú-zak-ku-ú* 7 *ina pa-ni* ^{m}*Bêl-šu-nu apil-šu ša* ^{m}*A-ḫu-na-a ....du.*

"1 Nanâ-kîshirat, Shaḫundu, 2 her daughter, Ṭudanu, the son of Shumu, 3 Nubtâ, Burâshu-sha-shizib, 4 in all, 5 female slaves, female *širkê,* 5 whom Enurta-aḫ-iddin, the prince, to 6 the Bêlit of Erech consecrated, 7 are at the disposal of Bêlshunu, the son of Aḫu-nâ..du."

Names of 5 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 4th of Elul, the 4th year of Nabonidus.

This brief record indicates the temple's power to place members of the *širkûtu*, dedicated by a prince, at the disposal of another individual. It may be inferred from this that the *širkûtu* represented a larger body of servants than was required by the temple and that a man who wished to accomplish a certain work might make requisition for some of them. On the other hand, Bêlshunu may possibly have been in the temple's employ. He is referred to, however, as a private individual, and the fact that a record of the transaction was made shows that the members of the *širkûtu* passed, at least temporarily, from the temple's control. No surety is provided for their return to the temple and no limit of time is indicated. Either Bêlshunu was a man of great trustworthiness or he was privileged to use the slaves indefinitely. Another unusual feature of the document is the fact that Ṭudanu, one of the five domestics referred to as female *širkê*, was a man and may have been a eunuch.

Provision for harvesting reeds.

YBT Vol. VII 172—1 *mKal-ba-a apil-šu ša mdNabû-ri-man-ni ù* 2 *20 hširkê* (*PA-KAB-DUmeš*) *ša dInnina Urukki ina hMU ša KIL alpi ša šarri* 3 *ša ina pâni mKal-ba-a mdŠamaš-zêr-iddin mdIn-nin-zêr-ibni* 4 *u mNâdina*(*-na*)*-aplu a-di ûmu 20kam ša araḫArahsamnu* 5 *qanâtimeš ša ina nârTak-ki-ri ši-i-ḫu ša dInnina Urukki* 6 *iṣ-ṣi-di*[43] *ù qanâtimeš e-ṣi-du ú-še.....* 7 *i-zab-bil-ma ina bâb nârTak-ki-ri* 8 *ina muḫ-ḫi nârSipparki a-na* 9 *dul-lu ša ekalli ša šarri a-na* 10 *mdNabû-aḫ-iddin hšaqû šarri* 11 *hbêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* [*i-nam*]*-din* 12 *ki-i la iz-zi-bil-ma la id-dan-nu* 13 *ḫi-ṭu ša mGu-ba-ru hpaḫât Bâbilîki u E-bir nâri* 14 *i-šad-da-ad qanâtimeš ina nârTak-ki-ri ul ú-maš-*[*šar*].

"1 Kalbâ, the son of Nabû-rîmanni and 2 20 *širkê* of Innina of Erech from the servant of the ox-stable[44] of the king, 3 who are at the disposal of Kalbâ, Shamash-zêr-iddin, Innin-zêr-ibni, 4 and Nâdina-aplu. By the 20th day of Marchesvan 5 the reeds which are in the river Takkiri, the *šîḫu*[45] of Innina

[43] This is the first occurrence of the present tense of the verb *eṣêdu* = "to harvest," "to cut off."

[44] *hMU ša KIL alpi*. It seems unlikely that *hMU* should have the value *hnuḫatimmu* = "baker" in this expression. A meaning similar to *ḫqallu* = "servant" would be expected. Cf. *TlqNB* p. 90. *KIL* primarily refers to something enclosed. Hence *hMU ša KIL alpi* seems to refer to a "servant of the ox enclosure or stable."

[45] *Šîḫu* may be connected with *šîḫu* = "to grow tall." This reference seems to be to a high growth of bushes as Hebrew שִׂיחַ suggests.

of Erech, 6 he shall harvest and the reeds of the harvest he..... 7 shall bring and in the mouth[46] of the river Takkiri 8 upon the river Sippar for 9 the work of the palace of the king to 10 Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, 11 the chief overseer of Êanna, he shall deliver. 12 If he does not bring and deliver (them) 13 a sin against Gobryas, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River 14 he will commit. He shall not leave the reeds in the river Takkiri.''

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 7th of Marchesvan, the 4th year of Cambyses.

This document reveals the fact that 20 members of the *širkûtu,* detailed for work in the king's ox-stable, were placed at the disposal of four men, one of whom, Kalbâ, was to take the *širkê* for the purpose of gathering reeds for the king's palace. The reeds were not to be left in the stream where they were gathered but were to be delivered at the point where that water course emptied into the Sippar river. The time limit and the penalty provided indicate the importance of the task to be performed.

Record concerning *širkê* sent to Erech by Gobryas.

YBT Vol. VII 70—1 *^{md}Nabû-mukîn-aplu ^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na mâri-šu ša ^{m}Na-di-nu* 2 *mâr ^{m}Da-bi-bi ù ^{md}Nabû-aḫ-iddin ^{h}šaqû šarri ^{h}bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* 3 *a-na ^{m}Gi-mil-lu mâri-šu ša ^{md}In-nin-šum-ib-ni ^{h}širku(PA-KAB-DU) ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki}* 4 *iq-bu-ú um-ma ^{h}širkê(PA-KAB-DU^{me}) ša ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki} ša arki a-mir-tum* 5 *i-na qi-ba-a-ta ^{m}Gu-ba-ru ^{h}paḫât Bâbili^{ki} ù ^{mât}E-bir nâri* 6 *at-ta ù ^{md}Adad-šar-uṣur ^{h}MU bît ḫi-ri ^{h}bêl pi-qit-tum* 7 *ša ^{m}Gu-ba-ru i-na šatti 8^{kam} ^{m}Ku-ra-aš šar Bâbili^{ki} šar mâtâti ta-bu-ka-nim-ma* 8 *i-na pa-ni-i-ni tap-qi-du ù a-na pâni ^{m}Gu-ba-ru ta--al-li-ku* 9 *mi-nu-ú ^{m}Gu-ba-ru ṭe-e-me a-na muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu iš-kun-ka* 10 *qi-ban-na-an-na-ši-ma ni-pu-uš ^{m}Gi-mil-lu iq-bi um-ma mimma* 11 *[ṭe]-e-ma ^{m}Gu-ba-ru a-na muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu ul iš-ku-na-an-na* 12 *[ša] ^{h}ṣâbê^{me} ša a-bu-kam-ma ú-kal-li-mu-ku-nu-ši dul-lu* 13 *ina Ê-an-na li-pu-šú a-di eli ša ṭe-e-me* 14 *ša ^{m}Gu-ba-ru a-na muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu ta-šim-ma-ám* 15 *^{h}ṣâbê^{me} ša ina lib-bi-šu-nu ul-tu si-me-ri up-ṭu-ru-ma* 16 *pu-us-su-nu*[47] *aš-šu-ú a-ki-i ^{is}pidni(DA) ša ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki}* 17 *pu-us-su-nu a-na la ḫa-la-qa na-ša-a-ka.*

[46] *Bâbu* seems to be used in this context in the sense of a river's mouth.

[47] *Pu-us-su-nu* stands for *pu-ut-su-nu.* The same form occurs in *AENN* 63:14.

"1 Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nâdinu, 2 son of Dabibi, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 3 to Gimillu, the son of Innin-shum-ibni, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 4 spoke as follows: 'With reference to the *širkê* of Innina of Erech, whom after the *amirtum*[48] 5 at the command of Gobryas, the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River, 6 you and Adad-shar-uṣur, the *MU bît ḫiri*, the chief overseer 7 of Gobryas, in the 8th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of countries, brought and 8 placed in our charge and (then) went to Gobryas, 9 whatever decree Gobryas imposed upon you concerning them, 10 let us know and we will execute (it).' Gimillu replied as follows: 11 'Gobryas imposed no decree whatsoever upon me concerning them. 12 As to the workmen (*see note 49*) whom I brought and showed you, 13 let them perform work in Êanna until the time when 14 you have determined the decree of Gobryas concerning them. 15 As to the workmen whom I loosed from chains from among them and 16 for whom I became responsible, according to the record of Innina of Erech 17 I am responsible for them against flight.' "

Names of 2 chief officers of the king, 5 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 15th of Marchesvan, the 8th year of Cyrus.

Interesting facts concerning the *širkûtu* are presented in this document. Certain members of the order had been placed at the disposal of Gobryas, the high representative of the Persian government in Babylonia. It is not stated whether Gobryas demanded the workmen or whether they were offered by the temple. Gimillu, a *širku* of some importance, was apparently in charge of the company of *širkê* serving Gobryas and was particularly responsible for those whom he had released from their chains in order that they might perform this special work. At the conclusion of the task Gobryas returned the *širkê* to the officers of the temple in Erech in care of Gimillu. The surprising fact is that the temple authorities were at a loss to know what to do with the returned *širkê* and asked whether Gobryas had given any instructions concerning

[48]It is possible to derive the word *amirtum* from *amâru* = "to see," etc. This derivation is supported by *StrCyr* 292:1-3, *ḫṣâbêmeš ḫal-qu-tu û mîtu-ú-tu ša ina a-mir-tum ša ḫqi-i-pi la a-mar*, "Runaway and dead workmen who at the inspection of the governor were not seen." If *arki a-mir-tum* means "after the inspection," *amirtum* may refer to some sort of inventory of the *širkê* before they were sent back to Erech by Gobryas.

them. This careful attitude on the part of the officials in Erech points to an attempt on their part to co-operate most assiduously with the foreign régime of the period. On the other hand, the failure of Gobryas to send immediate instructions indicates that he left certain matters, at least temporarily, to local jurisdiction.

The latter part of the document presents the unusual spectacle of a *širku* giving advice to his superiors, i. e., that the *širkê,* whom he calls *ḫṣâbê*[49] should be required to perform the ordinary tasks of the temple until definite word can be obtained from Gobryas. The final statement of the *širku* was an assertion that he would fulfil his agreement with the temple concerning the *širkê* for whom he had become surety.

There are two main items of information in this text. The first is that *širkê,* although belonging primarily to the temple, could come under the recognized authority of the civil governor of the land.[50] The second is that a *širku* could rise to a place of high importance.[51]

Bail given for a *širku.*

YBT Vol. VII 1—1 *Pu-ut šêpê ša* ^{m}*Ku-du-ra-nu apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Na-na-a-i-lu* 2 ^{ḫ}*širku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} 3 ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ki-rib-tum apil* ^{m}*Ba-bu-tu* 4 *ina qât* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-zêr* ^{ḫ}*šatammu Ê-an-na* 5 *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Na-din apil* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi* [*u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ*]*-iddin* 6 ^{ḫ}*šaqû šarri* ^{ḫ}*bêl pi-qit-*[*tum Ê-an-na*] 7 *na-ši ûmu 22*^{kam} *ša* ^{arab}*Tebêtu*..... 8 *ina Ê-an-na ina bît ka-ri-e*[*a-na*] 9 ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-zêr* ^{ḫ}*šatammu Ê-an-na* 10 *u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{ḫ}*šaqû šarri* 11 ^{ḫ}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* 12 *i-nam-din-šu ki-i la i-tab-ka-aš* 13 *1 ma-na kaspi a-na makkur* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} 14 *i-nam-din ù* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-zêr* [*u*] ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* 15 ^{m}*Ku-du-ra-nu ú-ba-mu-ú.*[52]

[49]That skilled soldiers are not always referred to by *ḫṣâbê* is indicated by many texts. Particular note should be taken of *REN* 146 which is a list of implements used by the *ḫṣâbê.* The list includes hoes, axes, sickles, pails, etc. No weapon of actual warfare seems to be mentioned. This list may represent their equipment for peaceful rather than military activities. For the relation of *ṣâbu* to *ummânu* see references under *ṣâbu, CD* p. 857.

[50]Cf. *LCE* 169.

[51]*YBT* Vol. VII 149:2 contains the following: *ḫši-rik Urukki ša muḫ-ḫi ri-ḫa-nu,* "a *širkû* of Erech who was in charge of the remainder."

[52]Dr. Tremayne in his dissertation derives *ú-ba-mu-ú* from *bâ'u* = "to come," "to go." The intensive stem may have a causative force.

"1 The responsibility for the movements[53] of Kuduranu, the son of Nanâ-ilu, 2 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, 3 Balâṭu, the son of Kiribtum, son of Babûtu, 4 from Nabû-mukîn-zêr,[54] the administrator of Êanna, 5 the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, 6 the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 7 assumes. On the 22d day of Ṭebet.... 8 in Êanna in the storehouse to 9 Nabû-mukîn-zêr, the administrator of Êanna, 10 and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, 11 the chief overseer of Êanna, 12 he shall give him. If he does not bring him, 13 1 mina of silver to the treasury of the Bêlit of Erech 14 he shall give, and Nabû-mukîn-zêr [and] Nabû-aḫ-iddin 15 shall bring Kuduranu."

Names of 2 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 21st of Ṭebet, the accession year of Cyrus.

This text records the bailment of a *širku* for one day. No extensive task could be performed in this unusually short time, and so it may be presumed that the *širku* wanted to pay a visit or attend to some business. The authorities probably had a special claim upon this *širku* and hence demanded security for even a brief absence from the temple. The fine of one mina does not necessarily represent the value of the *širku*, as the latter's return was to be secured in addition to the payment of the former.

Bailment of a female *širku*.

YBT Vol. VII 60—1 *Ûmu 10kam ša arabAddaru šattu 7kam mKur-aš šar Bâbiliki šar mâtâti* 2 *fLa-tu-ba-šin-ni fširkatum(PA-KAB-tum) ša dBêlit ša*

[53]The literal meaning of *pu-ut šêpê . . . . . našû* is "to bear the responsibility for the feet." Ungnad in *SSS* No. X, *Selected Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period*, p. 67, translates "to be responsible that someone does not go away." The evident idea is that someone becomes surety for the movements of another. Cf. *KBB* p. 48f.

[54]The usual writing of the name of this temple official in these documents is *Nabû-mukîn-aplu*. Cf. *YBT* Vol. VII 47:2, 7; 60:5; 66:9, 13; 69:2, 7; 70:1; 73:6. The writing *Nabû-mukîn-zêr* is not unusual. Cf. references in name list of *REN* p. 29. The lineage of both is the same, i. e., the son of *Nâdin*, the grandson of *Dabibi*, and both are described as the *šatammu* of Êanna. *Nabû-mukîn-aplu* appears from the 10th year of Nabonidus to the 9th year of Cyrus. The references in the Cambyses texts are not available. *Nabû-mukîn-zêr* appears from the 4th year of Nabonidus to the last year of Cyrus. The difference in writing cannot be due to different scribes, as *Nâdinu*, the son of *Bêl-aḫê-iqîša*, the grandson of *Egibi* wrote it both ways. Cf. *REN* 151:23; 235:29; 156:2, 8. It hardly seems possible that two brothers with such similar names would occupy the same position at the same time. The usual reference is to one *šatammu*. It may be that the sign for *zêru* also had the value *aplu* and that *Nabû-mukîn-aplu* ought to be reading in all cases, or vice versa.

Uruk^{ki} 3 *faššat* ^{md}*Bêl-ab-uṣur* ^{h}*qal-la ša* ^{m}*Dajân-*^{d}*Marduk* 4 *ù mârê*^{meš}*-šu* ^{m}*Dajân-*^{d}*Marduk apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-bâni-aḫi* 5 *apil* ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu ib-ba-kam-ma a-na* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu* 6 ^{h}*šatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Na-din apil* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi* 7 [*u*] ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{h}*šaqû šarri* ^{h}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* 8 [*i-na*] *Ê-an-na i-nam-din ki-i* 9 [*la*] *i-tab-kam-ma la id-dan-ni* 10 *amêlu-ut-tum ù man-da-at-tum* 11 ^{m}*Dajân-*^{d}*Marduk a-na* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *i-nam-din.*

"1 On the 10th day of Adar, the 7th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of countries, 2 Latubashinni, a female *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, 3 the wife of Bêl-ab-uṣur, the slave of Dajân-Marduk, 4 and her sons, Dajân-Marduk, the son of Nabû-bâni-aḫi, 5 son of Balâṭu, shall bring and to Nabû-mukîn-aplu, 6 the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, 7 and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 8 in Êanna shall give. If 9 he does not bring and give (them) 10 a female slave and compensation 11 Dajân-Marduk to the Bêlit of Erech shall give."

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 10th of Marchesvan, the 7th year of Cyrus.

In this document the master of a slave becomes surety for the latter's wife who is a member of the *širkûtu.* The temple has a claim upon her sons also and therefore they must be returned with the mother. This is another indication that the offspring of a *širku,* whether male or female, belonged to the order. In case the primary provisions of the contract are not carried out, the one who became surety must dedicate a female slave to the deity, presumably for the *širkûtu,* and must pay additional compensation. The term *mandattu* seems to refer to compensation equivalent to the service capable of being rendered by a slave. Thus it may be compared to interest on money. See note 28.

Oath taken that a *širku* will be delivered to the temple officials.

YBT Vol. VII 50—1 ^{md}*A-nu-um-aḫ-iddin apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Zêru-tu* 2 *apil* ^{m}*Kuri-i ina* ^{d}*Bêl* ^{d}*Nabû u a-da-e šarri* 3 *a-na* ^{m}*Ni-din-ti-*^{d}*Bêl* ^{h}*šatammu Ê-an-na* 4 *apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-zêr apil* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi* 5 *u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{h}*šaqû šarri* ^{h}*bel pi-qit-*[*tum*] 6 *Ê-an-na it-te-me ki-i a-di* 7 *ûmu 5*^{kam} *ša* ^{arab}*Araḫ-*

samnu ^{m}*Ki-ne-na-a-a* 8 ^{h}*ši-ik-ka*[55] *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} 9 *ab-ba-kam-ma a-nam-dak-ka-šú-nu-tu*[56] 10 *ki-i la i-ta-bak ḫi-ṭu* 11 *ša šarri i-ša-ad-*[*da-ad*].

"1 Anum-âḫ-iddin, the son of Zêrûtu, 2 son of Kurî, by Bêl, Nabû and the laws of the king 3 to Nidinti-Bêl, the administrator of Êanna, 4 the son of Nabû-mukîn-zêr, son of Dabibi, 5 and Naḇû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, chief overseer 6 of Êanna, swore as follows: 'By 7 the 5th day of Marchesvan Kinenâ, 8 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, 9 I will bring and give to you.' 10 If he does not bring (him) a sin 11 against the king he will commit."

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 30th of Shebaṭ, the 5th year of Cyrus.

This record of bailment is more direct and personal in form. In case of violated oath the delinquent becomes guilty of a gross crime to be punished by some penalty imposed by the king.

Responsibility assumed for the return of a *širku*.

YBT Vol. VII 73—1 *Ni-din-tum mâri-šu ša* ^{m}*Ba-laṭ-su pu-ut* ..... 2 ^{f}*In-ṣa-ab-tum mârat-su ša* ^{m}*Ba-laṭ-su*..... 3 *aššat* ^{md}*Innina-mukîn-aplu mâri-šu ša* ^{md}*In-nin-bêl-šu-nu* 4 *ša pu-ut a-ba-ku ša* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši mâri-šu ša* 5 ^{m}*Ardi-*^{d}*In-nin* ^{h}*širku* (*PA-KAB-DU*) ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} 6 *na-šú-ú ina qât* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu* ^{h}*šatammu Ê-an-na* 7 *mâri-šu ša* ^{m}*Na-di-nu mâr* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi ù* 8 ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{h}*šaqû šarri* ^{h}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* 9 *a-di ûmu 20*^{kam} ^{arab}*Araḫsamnu na-ši ki-i* 10 *ûmu 20*^{kam} *la i-tab-kam-ma* 11 *ḫa id-dan-nu-uš ul-tu eli* 12 *ū-mu* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši* ^{h}*širku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} 13 *ḫal-qa* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši ù man-da-at-tum a-na* 14 ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *i-nam-din* ^{m}*Gi-mil-lu mâri-šu ša* 15 ^{md}*In-nin-šum-ibni pu-ut* ^{m}*Ni-din-tum na-ši* 16 *ki-i* ^{m}*Ni-din-tum la i-tab-ku ul-tu eli ū-mu* 17 *ša* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši ḫal-qa* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši ù man-da-at-tum* 18 *a-na* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *i-nam-din.*

"1 Nidintum, the son of Balâṭsu, the responsibility of..... 2 Inṣab-tum, the daughter of Balâṭsu, ..., 3 the wife of Innina-mukîn-aplu, the son of Innin-bêlshunu, 4 who the responsibility of bringing Lâbâshi,

[55]The following passage in *StrNbn* 1099:1, 2 should be noted: *2 ma-na šipâtêzun ina qi-bi ša* ^{m}*Ki-i-*^{d}*Nabû a-na* ^{md}*Šamaš-aḫ-iddin* ^{h}*rab šik-katmeš nadna(-na)*, "2 minas of wool at the command of Kî-Nabû to Shamash-aḫ-iddin, the ^{h}*rab šikkatmeš*, were given." However the reading may also be ^{h}*rab sik-katmeš* = "chief of bolts," i. e., the one entrusted with the work of locking doors. There is therefore no certainty that there is a reference to *hrab PA-KAB-DU*. In *REN* 229:53 occurs ^{h}*rab sik-katmeš*, with a reference to ^{h}*NI-GABme* in the preceding line. See note 88.

[56]The form *a-nam-dak-ka-šú-nu-tu* is a modification of *a-nam-dan-ka-šú-nu-tu*.

the son of 5 Ardi-Innin, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 6 assume, from Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, 7 the son of Nâdinu, son of Dabibi, and 8 Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 9 by the 20th day of Marchesvan, bears. If 10 on the 20th day they do not bring 11 and give him, from the 12 day when Lâbâshi, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 13 fled, Lâbâshi and compensation to 14 the Bêlit of Erech he shall give. Gimillu, the son of 15 Innin-shum-ibni, becomes responsible for Nidintum. 16 If he does not bring Nidintum, from the day 17 when Lâbâshi fled, Lâbâshi and compensation 18 to the Bêlit of Erech he shall give."

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the.....of Marchesvan, the 8th year of Cyrus.

As *na-šú-ú* in line 6 is plural, the name of the wife of Innina-mukîn-aplu was probably written at the end of line 2. If this surmise is correct, Nidintum became responsible for two women, one of them his sister, who had become responsible for the return of the *širku* Lâbâshi. Nidintum himself had to furnish security, as the latter part of the document indicates. Thus a series of bailments is presented in this text, Gimillu vouching for Nidintum who became surety for those who assumed responsibility for the return of Lâbâshi. This adds weight to the conclusion that the temple exercised great care in protecting its claim upon members of the *širkûtu.*

Provision for the return of a fugitive *širku.*

YBT Vol. VII 44—1 [*Ûmu*] *15kam* [*ša*] *arabTišrîtu šattu 5kam mKu-ra-aš* 2 [*šar Bâbiliki*] *šar mâtâti mGu-za-nu apil-šu ša* 3 *mdNabû-da-a-a-nu mdŠamaš-na-din-šum apil-šu ša mE-rib-šu* 4 *hširku(PA-KAB-DU) ša dBêlit ša Urukki ḫal-qa* 5 [*i*]*-na qât mŠi-rik-tum-dAZAG-SUD apil-šu ša mBa-la-ṭu* 6 *i-ki-mu ib-ba-kam-ma a-na mNi-din-tum-dBêl* 7 *h*[*šatammu*] *Ê-an-na apil-šu ša mdNabû-mukîn-zêr apil mDa-bi-bi* 8 [*u*] *mdNabû-aḫ-iddin hšaqû šarri hbêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* 9 [*i*]*-nam-din ki-i la i-tab-ku* 10 [*ul*]*-tu muḫ-ḫi ū-mu ša mdŠamaš-na-din-šum* 11 *hširku(PA-KAB-DU) ša dBêlit ša Urukki ḫal-qa* 12 *mdŠamaš-na-din-šum ù man-da-at-tum a-na* 13 *dBêlit ša Urukki i-nam-din.*

"1 On the 15th(?) day of Tishri, the 5th year of Cyrus, 2 king of Babylon, king of countries, Guzanu, the son of 3 Nabû-dânu, Shamash-nâdin-shum, the son of Êribshu 4 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech (who) fled, 5 from

Shiriktum-*AZAG-SUD*, the son of Balâṭu, 6 shall take, bring and to Nidintum-Bêl, 7 the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nabû-mukîn-zêr, son of Dabibi, 8 and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 9 shall give. If he does not bring (him), 10 from the day when Shamash-nâdin-shum, 11 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, fled, 12 Shamash-nâdin-shum and compensation to 13 the Bêlit of Erech he shall give."

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 15th of Tishri, the 5th year of Cyrus.

Shamash-nâdin-shum, the runaway *širku*, had evidently been captured by Shiriktum-*AZAG-SUD*, who is mentioned as a scribe in *LCE* 169:24, and as the son of a *širku* in *YBT* Vol. VII 179:1. If the reading of the date in line 1 is correct, this document provided for the immediate delivery of the *širku* to the proper authorities. Guzanu guaranteed that this would be done, with the usual penalty in case of failure.

A *širku* becomes responsible for forty *širkê*.

YBT Vol. VII 187—1 *40 ḫikkarâtu* (*PIN*^{meš}) [^{ḫ}*širkê* (*PA-KAB-DU*^{meš}) ^{d}*Innina*] *Uruk*^{ki} 2 *ša* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu* ^{ḫ}*šatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu* 3 *ša* ^{m}*Na-di-nu apil* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi u* ^{md}*Sin-šar-uṣur* 4 ^{ḫ}*šaqû šarri* ^{ḫ}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na* 5 *a-na* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Na-na-a-aḫ-iddin* 6 ^{ḫ}*ikkaru* (*PIN*) ^{ḫ}*širku* (*PA-KAB-DU*) ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} 7 *id-di-nu* ^{ḫ}*ṣâbê*^{meš}*-ám 40* 8 *ib-ba-ka-ma dul-lu ina ekalli* 9 *ša šarri ša ina* ^{âl}*Ba-at-na-a-nu* 10 *ip-pu-šu ki-i man-ma ina lib-bi-šu-nu* 11 *a-na a-šar ša-nam-ma it-tal-ku* 12 ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši ḫi-ṭu ša šarri i-šad-da-ad.*

"1 40 husbandmen, [*širkê* of Innina] of Erech, 2 whom Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, the son 3 of Nâdinu, son of Dabibi, and Sin-shar-uṣur, 4 the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 5 to Lâbâshi, the son of Nanâ-aḫ-iddin, 6 the husbandman, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 7 gave. The workmen, 40 in number, 8 he shall bring and they shall perform work in the palace 9 of the king in the city Batnânu. 10 If anyone of them 11 has gone to another place, 12 Lâbâshi will be guilty of a sin against the king."

Names of 3 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in the city of Erech, the 8th of Tammuz, the 6th (?) year of Cambyses.

This is an interesting record of forty members of the *širkûtu* who were detailed for service in one of the king's palaces. Lâbâshi, who became surety for them, may be compared in position with Gimillu who was in charge of the *širkê* working for Gobryas in *YBT* Vol. VII 60.

Two *širkê* become responsible for fifty *širkê*.

YBT Vol. VII 154—1 *Pu-ut šú-uz-zu-uz-zu ša 50 ḫširkê(PA-KAB-DUmeš)* 2 *ša dBêlit ša Urukki ḫBANmeš*[57] ..... 3 *ša ka-da-nu mdŠamaš-mudammiq (DAN) apil-šu* 4 *ša mIna-ešî-êṭir ù mdA-nu-mukîn-aplu* 5 *apil-šu ša mdNa-na-a-iddin ḫširkê(PA-KAB-DUmeš)* 6 *ša dBêlit ša Urukki na-šú-ú* 7 *arha-ta-ám ḫširkám(PA-KAB-DU-ám) 50* 8 *e-lat ḫagarrûtumeš ša mdInnina-âlik-pâni* 9 *ina ka-da-nu i-si-ni-qu-ma*[58] 10 *a-na mdŠamaš-êriba ḫrab ka-da-nu* 11 .....*da-pi âlḪar-zi-ba-a-a* 12 *i-nam-di-nu-'*.

"1 The responsibility for providing 50 *širkê* 2 of the Bêlit of Erech, as bowmen ..... 3 of the prison,[59] Shamash-mudammiq, the son 4 of Ina-eshî-êṭir, and Anu-mukîn-aplu, 5 the son of Nanâ-iddin, *širkê* 6 of the Bêlit of Erech, assume. 7 Monthly, *širkê* to the number of 50 8 in addition to the hired laborers of Innina-âlik-pâni 9 they shall compel to enter prison (literally, crowd into prison) and 10 to Shamash-êriba, the master of the prison, 11 .....the Ḫarzibite, 12 they shall give."

Names of 4 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 12th of Marchesvan, the 3d year of Cambyses.

[57] *ḫBANmeš* evidently refers to bowmen, as *išBAN* = *qaštu* = "bow." Cf. *B* 9100. See *YBT* Vol. VII 65:2 for reference to *mdNabû-rê'u-šú-nu mâri-šu ša mAmêl-dNa-na-a ḫširku(PA-KAB-DU) ša ina ka-da-a-nu*, "Nabû-rê'ushunu, the son of Amêl-Nanâ, a *širku* who is in prison." This line occurs in a long list of *ḫBANmeš*. Cf. *REN* 151:9, 11, 14, 15, 18, where there is a reference to the *ḫBANmeš* of the shepherds of the Bêlit of Erech and to the *ḫrab BANmeš*. Cf. *YBT* vol. VII 80:2; and *REN* 116:18.

[58] The present of *sanâqu* is *isaniq*, but *e-se-ni-iq* occurs. See *CD* p. 771.

[59] The word *ka-da-nu* seems to be connected with Arabic كَدَى = "to detain." Note *ḫrab ka-da-nu* in line 10. Cf. *YBT* Vol. VII 65:2 for *ka-da-a-nu* and *REN* 151:15 for *bît ka-a-du*. In all these cases the term occurs in connection with *ḫBANmeš*. Cf. *CD* p. 373 for *kidânu* = "protection," *kidin(n)u* = "protection," and *kidinnûtu* = "protection," derived from a verb *kadânu* = "hide," etc. The use of bowmen would be appropriate in connection with a place of detention or a place of protection. Cf. *VS* VI 202:11-13 for a statement that 300 *širkê* went to a camp (*a-na ma-dak-ti*).

The most plausible explanation of the contents of this document is that the *širkê* to be furnished every month to the prison master were for the purpose of guarding the place of detention, in the same way that *širkê* were used for guarding the temple,[60] etc. There is nothing to indicate that they were under some form of punishment.

Record concerning a runaway shepherd and a *širku*.

YBT Vol. VII 146—1 *^{md}A-nu-šar-uṣur apil-šu ša ^{md}In-nin-šum-iddin ^{h}na-qid ša ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki}* 2 *ša ṣi-e-nu qa-bu-ut makkur ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki} i-na pa-ni-šu i-ku-lu ù iḫ-li-iq* 3 *ù ma-al ^{md}Nabû-mukîn-aplu ^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša ^{m}Na-din apil ^{m}Da-bi-bi* 4 *^{md}Nabû-aḫ-iddin ^{h}šaqû šarri ^{h}bêl piqittum(ŠÌG) Ê-an-na ù ^{h}DUB-ŠAR^{meš} ša Ê-an-na* 5 *AN-ḪU-ṬU-RU iš-šú-'-ma ṣi-e-nu muš-šú-ri-e-ti ul-tu ṣêri* 6 *i-na qât ^{h}mâr bâni-i^{meš} i-bu-ku-ma a-na makkur Ê-an-na la id-di-ni* 7 *ù ^{md}Marduk-mukîn-aplu apil-šu ša ^{md}Adad-si-ir-ḫa-na-na* 8 *^{md}A-nu-šar-uṣur ^{iš}qa-a-ta*[61] *parzilli id-di-'-ú-ma a-na* 9 *^{md}Nabû-rê'u-šu-nu ^{h}mâr šipri ša ^{md}Nabû-mukîn-aplu ^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na* 10 *id-di-nu-ma ina qâti-šu iḫ-li-iq ar-ki ^{md}In-nin-zêr-ibni* 11 *apil-šu ša ^{m}Ina-ešî-êṭir ^{h}širku(PA-KAB-DU) ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki} ^{h}MU ša KIL alpê^{me} ša šarri* 12 *ša alpê^{me} ša šarri ú-maš-ši-ru ù iḫ-li-iq a-na* 13 *^{md}A-nu-šar-uṣur ú-ki-il-ma ^{iš}qa-a-ta parzilli* 14 *id-di-' 10 šiqil kaspi ina qâti-šu iš-ši ù* 15 *ú-un-da-[šir]-iš ^{md}In-nin-zêr-ib-ni* 16 *iš-ša-al-lu-ma ina puḫri.....bi e-li ram-ni-šu* 17 *ú-ki-in um-ma a-na ^{md}A-nu-šar-uṣur apil-šu ša ^{md}In-nin-šum-iddin* 18 *^{h}na-qid ša ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki} ki-i ú-kil-li-' ^{iš}qa-a-ta parzilli at-ta-du* 19 *10 šiqil kaspi an-da-ḫar-aš ù un-da-šir-iš.*

[60] Cf. *LCE* 169 and *AENP* 103.

[61] Very few examples of the phrase *^{iš}qa-a-ta parzilli* exist. *HRETA* 114:9, 10 contains the expression *^{iš}qâtâme id-du-ú.* *YBT* Vol. VII 7:125, 126 furnishes *^{iš}qâtâ parzillimeš ki-i id-du-ú.* *YBT* Vol. VII 158:14 has *ina 4 ^{iš}qa-a-ta.* In line 18 of the text under consideration occurs *^{iš}qa-a-ta parzilli at-ta-du.* Cf. also lines 13 and 14 *ibid.* Comparison must be made with *si-me-ri-e parzilli id-du-uš-šu,* "he put iron fetters upon him," *StrCyr* 281:3, and *^{md}A-num-šum-lîšir si-me-ri-e ina Ê-an-na id-di,* "he put iron fetters upon Anum-shum-lîshir in Êanna," *REN* 222:10, 11. Cf. *REN* 149:3, 6, 9 for *^{iš}qâtâ parzilli* and *YBT* Vol. VII 137:19 for *^{iš}qa-a-ta.* The verb *nadû* is used with *^{iš}qa-a-ta parzilli* in the same sense as with *si-me-ri-e parzilli.* The evident reference is to fetters, shackles or stocks of some kind. The use of the determinative for *wood* in connection with *iron* is unusual. Criminals were first of all held by human hands. Fetters of wood or fibre rope might well be termed *^{iš}qa-a-ta,* which might attain a technical sense or general meaning, usable even when the fetters were made of iron. The modern term "handcuff" is suggested by the ideogram for "hand," or the free translation "hand fetters" might be used. It should be noted that the reading might be *iz-qa-a-ta* from *zaqâtu* = "to be pointed," referring to fetters of sharp iron instead of ordinary chains.

"1 Anu-shar-uṣur, the son of Innin-shum-iddin, a shepherd of Innina of Erech, 2 who the sheep of the fold of the property of Innina of Erech, (which were) at his disposal, ate and fled, 3 and *ma-al*[62] Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, 4 Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, and the scribes of Êanna 5 *AN-ḪU-ṬU-RU*[63] took and the abandoned[64] sheep from the plain 6 from the *mâr bânî* brought and into the possession of Êanna did not give, 7 and Marduk-mukîn-aplu, the son of Adad-sirḫanana, 8 placed iron hand fetters(?) upon Anu-shar-uṣur and to 9 Nabû-rê'ushunu, the messenger of Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, 10 gave (him), and from him he (i. e., Anu-shar-uṣur) fled. Afterwards Innin-zêr-ibni, 11 the son of Ina-eshî-êṭir, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, a servant of the ox enclosure of the king, 12 who left the oxen of the king and fled, 13 detained Anu-shar-uṣur and placed iron hand fetters(?) upon him, took 10 shekels of silver from him and 15 abandoned him. Innin-zêr-ibni 16 they questioned and in the assembly.....he testified concerning himself (literally, established upon himself) 17 as follows: 'When I detained Anu-shar-uṣur, the son of Innin-shum-iddin, 18 the shepherd of Innina of Erech, I placed iron hand fetters(?) upon him, 19 received 10 shekels of silver from him and abandoned him.' "

Names of 5 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 22d of Ṭebet, the 3d year of Cambyses.

The outstanding features of this document are of great interest. A recreant shepherd of the temple was captured by Marduk-mukîn-aplu and turned over to the representative of the administrator of Êanna. The shepherd escaped again and was afterwards taken prisoner by a *širku* who was himself a fugitive. It seems that the *širku* was not entirely honest in the matter, for the appar-

[62]As a preposition *mal* means "in comparison with," "in accordance with." As a general relative pronoun it means "whatever." With *bašû, mala* has the sense "as much as there is." In the above text it is not easy to determine the exact meaning. Cf. *B* 6811 to 6820 for ideographic meanings of *MA-AL*.

[63]The meaning of *AN-ḪU-ṬU-RU* is unknown. Cf. *NLE* 8:21 for another occurrence of the term. In both cases it seems to refer to a nominal rather than verbal idea.

[64]"Abandoned" seems to be the best meaning for *muš-šú-ri-e-ti,* which may be a form from *mašâru* like *nukkusu* from *nakâsu.* Cf. *CD* p. 673. *AENN* 124:1, 2 has *1 pag-ra . . . . . i-na muš-šú-ri-e-ti,* "1 carcass . . . . . among those abandoned." The reference seems to be to abandoned animals, one of which died or was killed.

ent meaning of the record is that he took some money, it may be as a bribe, from the shepherd and then let him go. He acknowledged this action on his part, but it is difficult to know the outcome as no sentence is pronounced.

The following document bears the same date as the one just discussed and gives further information concerning the *širku* Innin-zêr-ibni and his activities.

Two *širkê* testify concerning another member of the order.

YBT Vol. VII 152—1 *^{md}In-nin-zêr-ibni apil-šu ša ^{m}Ina-ešî-êṭir ^{h}širku (PA-KAB-DU) ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki}* 2 *i-na ^{d}Bêl ù ^{d}Nabû ù i-na a-di-e ša ^{m}Kambu-zi-ia šar Bâbili^{ki} šar mâtâti* 3 *a-na ^{md}Nabû-mukîn-aplu ^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša ^{m}Na-din apil ^{m}Da-bi-bi* 4 *u ^{md}Nabû-aḫ-iddin ^{h}šaqû šarri ^{h}bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na it-te-me* 5 *ki-i kaspa ù mimma ma-la ba-šú-ú ina qât ^{h}širkê (PA-KAB-DU^{me})* 6 *ḫal-qu-tu ša ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki} aš-šú-ú ù ú-maš-ši-ru* 7 *ar-ki šum ilâni^{meš} ^{m}Su-qa-a-a apil-šu ša ^{m}Ar-ra-bi u ^{m}Itti-^{d}Na-na-a-îni-ia* 8 *^{h}širkê (PA-KAB-DU^{meš}) ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki} ina puḫri a-na ^{md}In-nin-zêr-ibni* 9 *ú-kin-' um-ma 3 šiqil kaspi ù 30 qa šikarê^{zun}* 10 *at-ta ù ^{m}Ba-la-ṭu apil-šu ša ^{m}Šú-la-a ina âli IM^{ki}* 11 *a-na ^{m}Iqîša(-ša)-a ^{h}šú-ša-nu ta-an-da-ḫar-'* 12 *ù tu-un-da-šir-uš-šu 2 šiqil kaspi ù 30 qa šikarê^{zun}* 13 *ina qât ^{md}Šamaš-apla-a ^{h}ikkaru ša qât ^{m}Na-din ina bît ^{m}Ḫi-li-^{d}A-nu* 14 *ta-at-ta-aš-ša-' ù tu-un-da-šir-uš-šu.*

"1 Innin-zêr-ibni, the son of Ina-eshî-êṭir, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 2 by Bêl and Nabû and the laws of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of countries, 3 to Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, 4 and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, swore 5 as follows: 'Money and whatsoever there was from the 6 fugitive *širkê* of Innina of Erech I took and let (them) go.' 7 After the oath (literally, name of the gods) Suqâ, the son of Arrabi and Itti-Nanâ-înîa, 8 *širkê* of Innina of Erech, in the assembly for Innin-zêr-ibni 9 established as follows: 'Three shekels of silver and 30 *qa* of date wine 10 you and Balâṭu, the son of Shulâ in the city *IM* 11 for Iqîsha, the *šušanu,* received 12 and (then) let him go. Two shekels of silver and 30 *qa* of date wine 13 from Shamash-aplâ, the husbandman, entrusted to Nâdin, in the house of Ḫili-Anu, 14 you took and (then) let him go.' "

Names of 5 witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 22d of Ṭebet, the 3d year of Cambyses.

It is interesting to compare this document with the preceding one. Innin-zêr-ibni figures in both as a *širku* who had profited at the hands of runaway *širkê* and then allowed them to escape. Suqâ and Itti-Nanâ-înîa, the *širkê* who gave testimony as to what he did in two instances, are mentioned in the next text, dated about two months later, as husbandmen of the Bêlit of Erech who left their irrigating instruments and fled. These three documents so closely related in time and contents enable us to visualize the care that was taken by Babylonian temple officials in investigating and regulating the activities of members of the *širkûtu*.

Provision for bringing five workmen, including a *širku*, to Babylon.

YBT Vol. VII 137—1 *^{m}Du-um-mu-qu mâri-šu ša ^{m}Bal-ṭi-ia ^{h} ^{âl}Ša-at-mu* ..... 2 *ša ^{md}Ê-a-kur-ban-nu ^{h}pa-qu-du ša Uruk^{ki} a-na eli mârti*..... 3 *ša a-na kaspi id-di-nu i-na ši-pir-ti ša ^{m}Kal-ba-a ^{h}pa-qu-du ša ^{âl}Ša-at-mu* 4 *iṣ-ba-tu ^{m}Itti-^{d}Na-na-a-i-ni-ia ù ^{m}Su-qa-a-a ^{h}ikkarâtu^{meš}* 5 *ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} ša ^{iš}APIN^{me}-šu-nu ú-maš-ši-ru ù i-iḫ-li-qu* 6 *^{md}A-nu-zêr-ibni ^{h}pu-ṣa-a-a ^{h}rab ešertum(-tum) ša dul-lu-šu ú-maš-ši-ru* 7 *ù i-iḫ-li-qu-ma 2 šanâti^{meš} la in-nam-ru ^{m}Ú-ba-ru* 8 *^{h}širku(PA-KAB-DU) ša ^{d}Nergal ša ^{âl}Ú-dan-nu ša ^{md}Nabû-šum-ukîn ^{h}paqdu Êkurâti^{me}* 9 *ina bît ki-li iṣ-ba-tu napḫaru 5 ^{h}ṣâbê^{meš} ša ina bît ki-li ṣa-ab-tu-ma* ..... 16 *^{md}Nabû-mukîn-aplu ^{h}šatammu Ê-an-na* 17 .....*ù ^{md}Nabû-aḫ-iddin ^{h}šaqû šarri ^{h}bêl piqittum(ŠÌG) Ê-an-na* 18 *^{m}Du-um-mu-qu ^{m}Itti-^{d}Na-na-a-i-ni-ia ^{m}Su-qa-a-a ^{md}A-nu-zêr-ibni* 19 *^{m}Ú-ba-ru i-na ^{iš}qa-a-ta iṣ-ba-tu-ma a-na ^{m}Gi-mil-lu* 20 *^{h}rab ešertum(-tum) ù ^{md}Nabû-iq-ṣur mâri-šu ša ^{m}Du-um-mu-qu ^{h}širkê(PA-KAB-DU^{me}) ša ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki}* 21 *id-di-nu pu-ut ma-aṣ-ṣar-tum ša ^{h}ṣâbê^{me}-ám 5 ^{m}Gi-mil-lu ù ^{md}Nabû-iq-ṣur* 22 *na-šú-ú ib-ba-ku-ma i-na Bâbili^{ki} ina pâni ^{m}Na-bu-ú-gu apil-šu ša ^{m}Gu-ba-ru* 23 *^{h}paḫât Bâbili^{ki} ù ^{mât}Ê-bir nâri^{ki} ú-ša-az-za-zu-šu-nu-tu ki-i man-ma ina lib-bi-šu-nu* 24 *a-na a-šar ša-nam-ma it-tal-ku ^{m}Gi-mil-lu ù ^{md}Nabû-iq-ṣur ḫi-ṭu ša šarri* 25 *i-šad-da-du.*

"1 Dummuqu, the son of Balṭîa, the Shatmite.., 2 whom Êa-kurbannu, the guardsman(?)[65] of Erech, on account of the daughter of..... 3 whom he sold (literally, gave for silver), by reason of a dispatch of Kalbâ, the guardsman(?) of Shatmu, 4 took prisoner; Itti-Nanâ-înîa and Suqâ, husbandmen 5 of the Bêlit of Erech, who left their irrigating instruments and fled;

[65] See note 12.

6 Anu-zêr-ibni, the fuller, a chief of ten, who left his work 7 and fled and for two years was not seen, Ubaru, 8 a *širku* of Nergal, of the city Udannu, whom Nabû-shum-ukîn, the keeper of the temples, 9 put in prison; in all, five workmen (*see note 49*), who were placed in prison and..... ..... 16 Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna 17..... and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 18 placed Dummuqu, Itti-Nanâ-înîa, Suqâ, Anu-zêr-ibni, 19 and Ubaru in hand fetters(?) and gave (them) to Gimillu, 20 a chief of ten, and Nabû-iqṣur, the son of Dummuqu, *širkê* of Innina of Erech. 21 The responsibility for guarding the five workmen Gimillu and Nabû-iqṣur 22 bear. They shall bring (them) and in Babylon they shall place them at the disposal of Nabûgu, the son of Gubaru, 23 the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River. If anyone of them 24 has gone to another place, Gimillu and Nabû-iqṣur a sin against the king 25 will commit."

Names of two officials, seven witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 30th of Adar, the 3rd year of Cambyses.

This text presents a glimpse of the steps that were taken against five persons that were guilty of various misdemeanors. The record is not full enough to reconstruct the course of action in each instance. As to the *širku* of Nergal, it is simply stated that he was placed in prison. The five shackled workmen detained as criminals were entrusted to two *širkê*, who were held responsible for bringing them to Babylon in order that they might render service to the son of the governor. This is further proof that recruits for service at the metropolis of Babylonia were drawn from the ranks of the *širkûtu* and that a *širku* could become responsible for fellow members of the order. Itti-Nanâ-înîa and Suqâ are not called *širkê* in this document, though that was their status in the preceding one.

Agreement to furnish testimony concerning a *širku* guilty of misdemeanors.

REN 108—1 *Pu-ut* ^{h}*mu-kin-nu-tum ša* ^{m}*Ibni-*^{d}*Ištar apil-šu* 2 *ša* ^{m}*Amêl-*^{d}*Na-na-a* ^{h}*širku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} 3 *ša ina mu-ši* ^{md}*Ê-an-*(*na*)*-šar-uṣur* ^{m}*Gab-bi-*^{d}*Bêl-um-ma* 4 ^{m}*Nûr-e-a* ^{m}*A-di-ma-at-ilu* ^{fd}*Na-na-a* .....5 *aššat* ^{m}*Am-ma-a u* ^{m}*Gub-ba-a* ^{h}*širkê*(*PA-KAB-DU*^{meš}) 6 *i-pu-uš dul-la ša Ê-an-na ina bît* ^{m}*Ibna-a* 7 *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Iddin-*^{d}*Nabû apil* ^{m}*Ki-din-*

^{d}Marduk ^{m}Ibni-^{d}Ištar 8 *ú-še-ri-bu-ma ú-ša-aḫ-mi-iṣ* 9 *u urîṣu LA u UŠ-TUR-ḪU*..... 10 *ik-ki-is ^{m}Ibna-a na-ši* 11 *ki-i la uk-ti-ni ḫi-ṭu* 12 *ša šarri i-zab-bil.*

"1 The responsibility of the testimony concerning Ibni-Ishtar, the son 2 of Amêl-Nanâ, a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, 3 who by night Êanna-sharuṣur, Gabbi-Bêl-umma, 4 Nûrêa, Adi-mat-ilu, Nanâ....., 5 the wife of Ammâ, and Gubbâ, *širkê* 6 performing the work of Êanna, into the house of Ibnâ, 7 the son of Iddin-Nabû, son of Kidin-Marduk, Ibni-Ishtar 8 caused to enter and treated with violence, 9 and a kid.....and fowl..... 10 killed, Ibnâ bears. 11 If he does not testify, a sin 12 against the king he will commit (literally, a sin of the king he will carry)."

Ibni-Ishtar in line 7 may best be explained as a repetition of the subject which occurs in line 1. Criminality of a different type is referred to in this document. Ibni-Ishtar, a *širku,* violently mistreated six fellow members of the *širkûtu,* one of whom was a woman. The full nature of the offense is not indicated. The causative form of the verb *ḫamâṣu* is used to describe immorality forcibly perpetrated upon a woman. The *širku* was also guilty of slaughtering animals. Ibnâ, in whose house the misdeeds were performed, was required by the temple to become surety that the facts would be properly presented in court. A severe penalty was imposed in case of default. This is an exact equivalent of what is meant by *subpoena* in modern law.

Record concerning a runaway *širku.*

YBT Vol. VII 102—1 *^{m}Ri-ḫi-e-tum mâri-šu ša ^{m}Ardi-^{d}In-nin ^{ḫ}ikkaru ^{ḫ}širku (PA-KAB-DU) ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki}* 2 *a-na ^{md}Nabû-mukîn-aplu ^{ḫ}šatammu Ê-an-na ù ^{md}Nabû-aḫ-iddin* 3 *^{ḫ}šaqû šarri ^{ḫ}bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na iq-bi um-ma ul-tu* 4 *šattu 8 ^{kam} ^{m} Ku-ra-aš šar Bâbili^{ki} šar mâtâti ul-tu eli ^{iṣ}APIN* 5 *ša ^{md}Šamaš-mukîn-aplu mâri-šu ša ^{md}Sin-na-din-šum ^{ḫ}ikkaru ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} adi ^{iṣ}APIN-ia(?)* 6 *aḫ-li-iq-ma i-na ^{arab}Ulûlu šattu rêštu šarrûti ^{m}Kam-bu-zi-ia* 7 *šar Bâbili^{ki} šar mâtâti ^{m}Gi-mil-lu mâri-šu ša ^{md}In-nin-šum-ibni* 8 *i-mu-ra-an-ni-ma ina pâni ^{md}Sin-ib-ni mâri-šu ša ^{md}Nabû-za-ba-du* 9 *ip-qi-da-an-na um-ma kaspu i-di-šu i-ša-am-ma i-bi-in-ni* 10 *ù ^{md}Sin-ibni iq-bu-ú um-ma ^{m}Gimillu ^{m}Ri-ḫi-e-tum ina pâni-ia* 11 *ip-te-qid ù rik-su a-na šatti 5 šiqil kaspi* 12 *a-na i-di-šu it-ti-ia iš-ta-ka-as* 13 *ar-ki rik-su ša ^{m}Gi-mil-lu it-ti-ia iš-ku-su* 14 *ši-pir-ti a-na ^{md}Nabû-na-din mâri-šu ša ^{m}Eriba-a ^{ḫ}bêl pi-qit-tum* 15 *ša âli ša ^{m}Ki-i-^{d}Nabû il-tap-ru um-ma i-na pa-ni-ka*

li-iṣ-bat-ma 16 *ki-i pa-ni-ka ma-ḫar i-na šatti 5 šiqil kaspi* 17 *i-di-šu šú-bi-lu ù ia-a-nu-ú lu-ú ina pâni* ^{md}*Sin-ib-ni iš-šú-ú* 18 *a-di i-na-an-na* ^{m}*Ri-ḫi-e-tum ina pâni* ^{md}*Nabû-na-din ú-šú-uz* 19 *ši-pir-tum ša* ^{m}*Gimillu a-na eli* ^{m}*Ri-ḫi-e-tum a-na* ^{md}*Nabû-na-din iš-pu-ru* 20 ^{md}*Sin-ibni ù* ^{m}*Ri-ḫi-e-tum a-na* ^{ḫ}*ša-tammu u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin id-di-nu-ma* 21 *ki-i pi-i* ^{ḫ}*mu-kin-nu-tu ša* ^{md}*Sin-ibni ina libbi ša-ṭir um-ma ki-i* 22 *pa-ni-ka ma-ḫar* ^{m}*Ri-ḫi-e-tum ina pâni-ka li-iṣ-bat-ma šatti* 23 *5 šiqil kaspi i-di-šu šú-bi-lu ù ia-a-nu-ú a-na* ^{md}*Sin-ibni* 24 *i-din-su ši-pir-ta-a lu-ú mu-kin-nu ina muḫ-ḫi-ka ši-pir-tum* 25 *ša* ^{ḫ}*si-pi-ri ša* ^{m}*Gimillu a-na eli* ^{m}*Ri-ḫi-e-tum a-na* 26 ^{md}*Nabû-na-din iš-pu-ru-ma ina puḫri tan-nam-ru* 27 *iš-ku-su ik-nu-ku u ina Ê-an-na iš-ku-nu.*

"1 Riḫêtum, the son of Ardi-Innin, the husbandman, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 2 to Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, 3 the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, spoke as follows: 'From 4 the 8th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of countries, from the irrigating instrument 5 of Shamash-mukîn-aplu, the son of Sin-nâdin-shum, the husbandman of the Bêlit of Erech, unto my(?) irrigating instrument 6 I fled and in the month Elul of the accession year of Cambyses, 7 king of Babylon, king of countries, Gimillu, the son of Innin-shum-ibni, 8 saw me and into the care of Sin-ibni, the son of Nabû-zabadu, 9 entrusted me with the stipulation, "*He shall reckon and give silver as his hire.*" ' 10 And Sin-ibni said as follows: 'Gimillu entrusted Riḫêtum in my care 11 and a contract for a yearly payment of five shekels of silver 12 for his hire he made with me. 13 After the contract which Gimillu made with me, 14 he sent a dispatch to Nabû-nâdin, the son of Êriba, the chief overseer 15 of the city of Kî-Nabû, saying, "*Before thee let him take hold and,* 16 *if it is pleasing to thee, in a year five shekels of silver* 17 *bring as his hire. Otherwise, verily, deliver*(?) (*him*) *to Sin-ibni.*" 18 Until now Riḫêtum has remained at the disposal of Nabû-nâdin.' 19 The dispatch which Gimillu sent concerning Riḫêtum to Nabû-nâdin, 20 Sin-ibni and Riḫêtum gave to the administrator and Nabû-aḫ-iddin and 21 in agreement with the testimony of Sin-ibni in it there was written the following: 'If 22 it is pleasing to thee, let Riḫêtum take hold before thee and yearly 23 five shekels of silver bring as his hire. Otherwise give him to Sin-ibni. 24 My dispatch, verily, is a witness for you.' The dispatch, 25 which the commissioner(?) of Gimillu sent concerning Riḫêtum to 26 Nabû-nâdin and (which) was seen in the assembly, 27 they bound, sealed and placed in Êanna."

Dated the 27th of Marchesvan, the accession year of Cambyses.

The first part of this document consists of a confession by a *širku* that he had been recreant in the performance of his work. After a period of about two years spent in truancy, the *širku* was seen by Gimillu, by whom he was entrusted to Sin-ibni. An agreement was drawn up as to the money which Sin-ibni should pay Gimillu for the use of the *širku*. Gimillu broke this agreement by placing the *širku* at the disposal of Nabû-nâdin, recognizing, however, the claim of Sin-ibni. Cf. *YBT* Vol. VII, 7, 31, 35 for proof of Gimillu's rascality. Within two months Sin-ibni and the *širku* presented the case at the temple and brought the letter of Gimillu to Nabû-nâdin as proof of what had been done. This letter was accepted by the authorities as having binding power even though its writer was not present to express acquiescence. In this way it is probable that the contract between Gimillu and Sin-ibni was superseded by the agreement between Gimillu and Nabû-nâdin, by the terms of which Sin-ibni was entitled to the *širku,* if Nabû-nâdin did not desire his services at the rate of five shekels per annum. It may be that Nabû-nâdin had actually found the arrangement unsatisfactory and had given the letter which Gimillu wrote him to Sin-ibni and Riḫêtum that it might aid in setting things right in court. The whole document is a fine example of Babylonian carefulness in recording all the pertinent details of a case that had claimed the attention of the temple authorities. *Iš-ta-ka-as,* l. 12, and *iš-ku-su,* l. 13 and l. 27, stand for *ir-ta-ka-as* and *ir-ku-su.* Cf. note 8 for change of *r* to *š.* See following text, l. 22.

Court record concerning the flight and capture of a *širku.*

YBT Vol. VII 88—1 *^{m}Ki-na-a apil-šu ša ^{m}Na-din apil ^{m}Da-bi-bi* 2 *^{md}Šamaš-mukîn-aplu apil-šu ša ^{md}Dajân-aḫê^{meš}-iddin apil ^{m}Ši-gu-ú-a* 3 *^{m}Lûṣi-ana-nûr-^{d}Marduk apil-šu ša ^{md}Nabû-aḫê^{meš}-uballiṭ(-iṭ)* 4 *apil ^{m}Da-bi-bi ^{m}Šú-la-a apil-šu ša ^{md}Šamaš-zêr-ibni apil ^{m}Ḫa-nap* 5 *^{m}Ardi-^{d}In-nin apil-šu ša ^{m}Balâṭu(-ṭu) apil ^{m}Nûr-^{d}Sin* 6 *^{md}Šamaš-zêr-iqîša(-ša) apil-šu ša ^{md}In-nin-šum-uṣur apil ^{md}Sin-lîq-unnînni* 7 *^{m}Mar-duk apil-šu ša ^{m}Ina-ešî-êṭir apil ^{m}Ḫu-un-zu-ú* 8 *^{m}La-ba-ṭu apil-šu ša ^{md}Nabû-ušallim apil ^{md}Sin-lîq-unnînni* 9 *^{h}mâr bânî^{meš} ša ina pa-ni-šu-nu ^{m}A-na-Ê-an-na-tur-ru* 10 *^{h}âtû ša bît šú-tum-mu šarri ^{m}Ri-mut* 11 *^{h}âtû ša ^{bâb}Ṭi-mu u ^{m}La-kip ^{h}aduppu* 12 *apil-*

šu ša ^{m}*Rimut a-na* ^{m}*Ni-din-ti-*^{d}*Bêl* 13 ^{h}*satammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-zêr apil* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi* 14 *ù* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{h}*šaqû šarri* $^{[h]}$*bêl pi-qit-ti Ê-an-na* 15 *iq-bu-ú um-ma* ^{m}*Ba-si-ia apil-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-ki-šir* 16 ^{h}*širku (PA-KAB-DU) ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *ša ina bît šú-tum-mu šarri* 17 *ṣa-ab-tu si-mir-ri-e-šu parzilli ip-ta-ṭar il-ta-su-um* 18 *ù ar-ki-šu ki-i ni-il-su-mu* 19 *paṭ-ri parzilli a-na muḫ-ḫi-i-ni it-ta-as-siḫ* 20 *ina* ^{bâb}*Ṭi-mu ki-i ni-iṣ-ba-tu-šu a-na Ê-an-na* 21 *nu-ul-te-rib-šu ù paṭ-ri ša muḫ-ḫi-šù-nu is-su-ḫu* 22 ^{h}*puḫru i-mu-ru paṭ-ri parzilli iš-ku-su ik-nu-ku* 23 *ù ina Ê-an-na ip-qi-du.*

"1 Kinâ, the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, 2 Shamash-mukîn-aplu, the son of Dajân-aḫê-iddin, son of Shigûa, 3 Lûṣi-ana-nûr-Marduk, the son of Nabû-aḫê-uballiṭ, 4 son of Dabibi, Shulâ, the son of Shamash-zêr-ibni, son of Ḫanap, 5 Ardi-Innin, the son of Balâṭu, son of Nûr-Sin, 6 Shamash-zêr-iqîsha, the son of Innin-shum-uṣur, son of Sin-lîq-unnînni, 7 Marduk, the son of Ina-eshî-êṭir, son of Ḫunzû, 8 Labaṭu, the son of Nabû-ushallim, son of Sin-lîq-unnînni, 9 *mâr bânî*, in whose presence Ana-Êanna-turru, 10 the keeper of the storehouse of the king, Rîmût, 11 the keeper of the gate Ṭimu, and Lâkip, the shipwright, 12 the son of Rîmût, to Nidinti-Bêl, 13 the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nabû-mukîn-zêr, son of Dabibi, 14 and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, the chief overseer of Êanna, 15 spoke as follows: 'Basîa, the son of Nabû-kîshir, 16 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, who in the storehouse of the king, 17 was held as a prisoner, opened his iron chains, fled, 18 and when we pursued after him, 19 he drew an iron sword against us. 20 When we seized him in the gate Ṭimu, we brought him into Êanna.' 21 And the sword which he drew against them 22 the assembly saw. They bound the iron sword, sealed (it) 23 and kept (it) in Êanna."

Name of scribe. Dated the 21st of....., the 2nd year of the king of countries.

This document, which is incompletely dated, gives a number of interesting details. An imprisoned *širku* forced his shackles open and fled. Some minor officials, who witnessed his attempt at escape, captured him as he tried to defend himself with a sword. The *širku* was returned to the temple and the weapon he used was inspected by the assembly, after which it was placed in safe keeping. There is no indication that additional punishment was imposed upon the *širku*, though the intimation is that he committed an unusual crime in drawing a sword upon his pursuers.

Oath taken by four *širkê* that they will perform a certain task.

YBT Vol. VII 179—1 *mŠi-rik-tum-dAZAG-SUD* [*u*] *mḪa-ma-ṣi-ru* 2 *mârêmeš ša mBa-la-ṭu hširku* (*PA-KAB-DU*) *dInnina Urukki* 3 *mTe-rik-šarrût*(*-ut*)*-su ù mBa-la-ṭu* 4 *apil-šu ša mŠum-uṣur hširkê*(*PA-KAB-DUmeš*) *dInnina Urukki* 5 *ša mdNabû-mukîn-aplu hšatammu Ê-an-na* 6 *apil-šu ša mNa-din apil mDa-bi-bi ša ma-ša-ḫa* 7 *ša ŠE-BAR ša tâmirtuIlu-gil-lum it-ti hikkarâtumeš* 8 *ša dBêlit ša Urukki iš-pu-ru-šu-nu-tu* 9 *mŠi-rik-tum-dAZAG-SUD mḪa-ma-ṣi-ru* 10 *mBa-la-ṭu u mTe-rik-šarrût*(*-ut*)*-su* 11 *ina dBêl u dNabû it-te-mu-ú* 12 *ki-i 6 gur ŠE-BAR ša*(*?*)*-la*[66] *hšatammi a-na* 13 *maš-šar-tum u kurummatêzun ina ṣêri u ina eli nâri* 14 *ni-id-dan-na.*

"1 Shiriktum-*AZAG-SUD* [and] Ḫamaṣiru, 2 sons of Balâṭu, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 3 Têrik-sharrûtsu and Balâṭu, 4 the son of Shum-uṣur, *širkê* of Innina of Erech, 5 whom Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, 6 the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, with reference to the measure 7 of the barley of the vicinity of Ilu-gillum together with the husbandmen 8 of the Bêlit of Erech, sent. 9 Shiriktum-*AZAG-SUD,* Ḫamaṣiru, 10 Balâṭu and Têrik-sharrûtsu 11 by Bêl and Nabû swore 12 as follows: 'Six kors of barley, the portion(?) of the administrator for 13 *maššartum* and sustenance, in the plain and upon the river 14 we will deliver.'"

Names of two witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 18th of Tammuz, the 5th year of Cambyses.

Though the two persons mentioned in line 1 are not referred to as *širkê,* they were sons of a *širkû,* and this evidently established their status as members of the order. However, *PA-KAB-DUmeš* in line 4 may also refer to Shiriktum-*AZAG-SUD* and Ḫamaṣiru. The *širkê* were commissioned to measure barley and in this work they were to be associated with ordinary husbandmen. The oath taken indicates that members of the *širkûtu* could make a legal promise for which they were held responsible.

Association with a female *širku* prohibited.

YBT Vol. VII 56—1 *mdZa-bá-bá-êreš*(*-eš*) *apil-šu ša mdNabû-balâṭ-su-iqbi* 2 *ša iq-bu-ú um-ma hKiški-a-a a-na-ku* 3 *ina ū-mu it-ti fŠa-an-na-a fširkati* (*PA-KAB-DU-ti*) 4 *ša dBêlit ša Urukki it-ta-na-ma-ru* 5 *ḫi-ṭu ša mGu-ba-ru hpaḫât Bâbiliki* 6 *ù E-bir nâri i-šad-da-ad.*

"1 (As to) Zababa-êresh, the son of Nabû-balâṭsu-iqbi, 2 who spoke as

[66]The scribe probably meant to write *ḪA-LA* = *zittu* = "portion," "share."

follows: 'I am a Kishite,' 3 on the day when with Shannâ, a female *širku* 4 of the Bêlit of Erech, he is seen, 5 a sin against Gobryas, the governor of Babylon 6 and the District beyond the River, he will commit.''

Names of five witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 28th day of Iyyar, the 6th year of Cyrus.

It seems from this document that a Kishite was not allowed to associate in any way with a female *širku*. The reason for this is not indicated. The following text is very similar in contents.

Association with a female *širku* prohibited.

YBT Vol. VII 92—1 *I-na ū-mu* ^{m}*Zab-di-ia* ^{h}*Ar-ba-a-a* 2 *it-ti* ^{f}*NIN-abi-šu* ^{f}*za-ki-tum*[67] 3 *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *it-na-ta-na-ma-ru*[68] 4 *ḫi-ṭu ša* ^{m}*Gu-ba-ru* ^{h}*paḫât* 5 *Bâbili*^{ki} *u Ê-bir nâri* 6 *i-šad-da-ad.*

''1 On the day when Zabdîa, an Arabian, 2 with *NIN*-abi-shu, a consecrated woman, i. e., female *širku*, 3 of the Bêlit of Erech, is seen, 4 a sin against Gobryas, the governor 5 of Babylon and the District beyond the River, 6 he will commit.''

It may be that this document and the preceding one deal with individuals who had been guilty of unseemly advances towards the female *širkê* mentioned. Any further action of this nature was strictly prohibited. These texts indicate that the *širkûtu* was not an order in which lax morals were allowed. Aliens could have no dealings with its female members.

Entrance into a wine house prohibited.

YBT Vol. VII 77—1 *I-na ū-mu* ^{md}*Šamaš-bêl-ibni a-bi* ^{h}*širki*(*PA-KAB-DU*) 2 ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši ša ina si-me-ri* 3 *ṣa-ab-tu-ma a-na ḫa-ba-šú*[69] *ša ti-ib-nu* 4 *a-na bît alpê*^{me} *ša šarri a-na* ^{md}*A-num-zêr-ušabši* (*-ši*) 5 *mâri-šu ša* ^{m}*La-a-ba-ši na-ad-na ina bît* ^{h}*kurunni* 6 *it-tan-ma-ru* ^{md}*A-nu-zêr-ušabši*(*-ši*) 7 *aḫu-šu mul-li-e*[70] *a-na muḫ-ḫi-šu un-da-al-lu.*

[67] See page 81.

[68] It is probable that *it-na-ta-na-ma-ru* is an error for *it-ta-na-ma-ru* as it occurs in line 4 of the preceding text.

[69] Arabic خَبَشَ = ''to pick up.'' Note חָבַשׁ = ''to bind.''

[70] *Mul-li-e . . . . . un-da-al-lu* is evidently an idiomatic expression. Both words come from *malâ* = ''to fill.''

"1 On the day when Shamash-bêl-ibni, the father of a *širku* 2 of Innina of Erech, the son of Lâbâshi, who in chains 3 is held and (who) for the picking of straw 4 for the ox stable of the king to Anum-zêr-ushabshi, 5 the son of Lâbâshi, is given, in a wine house 6 is seen, Anu-zêr-ushabshi, 7 his brother, shall give him his just deserts (literally, fill fullness upon him)."

Names of an official, two witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 27th of Adar, the 8th year of Cyrus.

It is unusual for an individual to be referred to, not as a *širku* himself, but as the father of a *širku*. Whatever the exact status of Shamash-bêl-ibni may have been with reference to the *širkûtu*, he was in chains for some misdemeanor and was compelled to gather straw under the direction of his brother. It is known that Babylonian wine houses were places of immorality,[71] and hence the prohibition in this document may have had the same motive as that which is apparent in the two preceding ones. If so, it is additional evidence of the sanctity of the order.

A female *širku* fatally injured by a dog.

YBT Vol. VII 107—1 *ʰQi-pa-a-nu ù ʰmâr bâni-iᵐᵉš ša i-na manzazi-*[*šu-nu*] 2 *ᶠItti-ᵈNa-na-a-gu-zu ᶠLil-li-ka-nu ù* 3 *ᶠA-mat-a ᶠširkâtum* (*PA-KAB-DU-tum*)ᵐᵉš *ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ* 4 *ša bît ki-me-ti ša*[*qât*] *ᶠBu-ra-šu iq-ba-ám* 5 *um-ma ûmu 22ᵏᵃᵐ ša ᵃʳᵃᵇAyaru šattu 1ᵏᵃᵐ Kam-bu-zi-ia* 6 *šar Bâbiliᵏⁱ šar mâtâti i-na manzazi-i-ni* 7 *ᶠMi-za-ti ᶠširkatum* (*PA-KAB-*[*DU*]*-tum*) *ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ* 8 *kur-ban-ni ki-i ta-aš-ša-' kal-bi tam-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ* 9 *ni-qa-ab-ba-aš-šu um-ma mi-nam-ma kal-bi* 10 *tam-maḫ-ḫaṣ-ṣi-' ta-qab-ba-an-na-a-šu* 11 *um-ma it-ti-šu lu-mu-tu* 12 *kal-bi ša tam-maḫ-ḫa-aṣ ina mi-iḫ-ṣi-šu mi-i-ti.*

"1 Overseers and *mâr bânî* in whose presence 2 Itti-Nanâ-guzu, Lillikanu, and 3 Amata, female *širkê* of the Bêlit of Erech, 4 of the *kimeti*[72] house, entrusted to Burâshu, spoke 5 as follows: 'On the 22nd day of Iyyar, the

[71] Cf. *Studies in the History of Religions presented to C. H. Toy*, p. 344. Prof. Lyon in discussing in this book the laws of the Hammurabi Code (108, 109, 110, 111) concerning wine shops, says: "This group of laws shows that the drinking places of the time stood in bad repute. The women engaged in the business seem to have been unscrupulous and their shops were the resort of evil doers. No votary might engage in this business or even enter one of the resorts for the purchase of a drink."

[72] *Kimeti* may be connected with *kamâtu* = "enclosure." Cf. *kamû* = "to enclose," "to seize," "to lead captive." It is possible that the reference is to some place of detention.

1st year of Cambyses, 6 king of Babylon, king of countries, in our presence 7 Mizati, a female *širkû* of the Bêlit of Erech, 8 as she brought an offering, was wounded by a dog. 9 We say to her, '*To what extent* 10 *wast thou wounded by a dog*?' She replies to us 11 as follows: '*With it I shall die.*' 12 The dog by whose attack she was wounded 13 is dead.' ''

Names of nine persons, presumably the officials mentioned in line 1, and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 23d of Iyyar, the 1st year of Cambyses.

The conclusion that may be drawn from this text is that the injury of any member of the *širkûtu* had to be reported to the temple officials. Especially was this necessary if the injury was liable to result in death. It is evident that a strict account was kept of the enrolment of the order and any depletion of its ranks from one cause or another was carefully noted. The death of the dog that caused the trouble is interesting. Was the dog suffering from hydrophobia or was its life taken because of the act it committed? The certainty of the wounded woman that she would die suggests the former. It should also be noted that *kal-bi* may be read *lab-bi* = "lion."

A *širku* performs a religious act.

YBT Vol. VII 20—11 *ʰrabêᵐᵉš ba-ni-ia*[73](*?*) *ʰki-na-al-tum*[74] *ša Ê-an-na* 12 *ša ûmu 9ᵏᵃᵐ ša ᵃʳᵃᵇŠîmânu šattu 2ᵏᵃᵐ ᵐKu-ra-aš šar mâtâti* 13 *ina 1 kas-bu ū-mu a-na ᵐᵈNabû-aḫ-iddin ʰšaqû šarri* 14 *ʰbêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na iq-bu-ú* 15 *um-ma ina manzazi-i-ni ina puḫri ša ᵃˡGab-bi* 16 *ᵐNa-ṣi-ru ʰširku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ* 17 *ʰMU bît ḫi-ri ša bâbi ina eli ta-bi-e* 18 *ša ᵈAš-ka-a-a-i-tum ina 1 kas-bu ū-mu šal-la-tum* 19 *rabû-tum a-na ilâniᵐᵉš ša Ê-sag-ila*[*u*]*Ê-zi-da* 20 *Bâbiliᵏⁱ ù ᵃˡBar-sipᵏⁱ i-te-ru-ub.*

''11 *Rabê bânî*, the assembly of Êanna, 12 who on the 9th day of Sivan, the 2nd year of Cyrus, king of countries, 13 in the 1st double hour of the day to Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, 14 the chief overseer of Êanna, spoke 15 as follows: 'In our presence in the assembly of the city Gabbi,

[73]It may be that the word should be read *ba-ni-e*.

[74]*ʰKi-na-al-tum* can be explained as *ʰki-na-aš-tum* from *kanâšu* = "to bow down," unless we assume another root *kanâšu* = "to assemble," like Hebrew כָּנַס and Syriac ܟܢܫ. Other occurrences of *ʰkinaltu* are in *REN* 71:18, 26; 72:18, 26; 77:27. Dr. Tremayne in his dissertation refers to the form *ʰki-na-aš-tum* in *YBT* Vol. VII 16:10. See reference to כִּנְשְׁתָּא in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part XXXVI, p. 9. Cf. *NLE* 6:18; 57:6; 86:8, 14; 152:8.

16 Nâṣiru, a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, 17 the *MU bît ḫi-ri* of the gate, in connection with the "resurrection" 18 of Ashkâitum in the 1st double hour of the day, entered as great booty 19 for the gods of Êsagila and Êzida, 20 (in) Babylon and Bosippa.' "

The first ten lines contain the names of the *rabê bânî*. The document concludes with the names of seven witnesses.

The interpretation of this text is made difficult by its brevity and unusual character. It may refer to some act of religious devotion on the part of the *širku*, who presented himself as "great booty"[75] to the gods in Babylon and Borsippa at the time of a special religious ceremony.

Members of the *širkûtu* act as fowlers.

YBT Vol. VII 69—1 ^{ḫ}*Širkê* (*PA-KAB-DU*^{meš}) ^{ḫ}*PAG-KAK*^{meš} *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} 2 [*ša*]*a-na* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu* ^{ḫ}*šatammu Ê-an-na apil-šu ša* 3 ^{m}*Na-din apil* ^{m}*Da-bi-bi u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{ḫ}*šaqû šarri* 4 ^{ḫ}*bêl pi-qit-tum Ê-an-na iq-bu-ú um-ma* 5 *a-na ṭe-ma an-na-a ta-šú-ṭu-ra-an-na-ši-ma*[76] 6 *iš-ka-ri*[77] *nu-šal-lim-ma a-na* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} 7 [*ni*]*-id-din* ^{md}*Nabû-mukîn-aplu*

[75]The use of *šal-la-tum rabû-tum* in this context is interesting. There is nothing to indicate that the act of the *širku* was other than voluntary. It may be that some special sacrificial dedication is referred to by the term "great booty," a ceremonial consecration in connection with the celebration of the "resurrection" of Ashkâitum.

[76]The form *ta-šú-tu-ra-an-na-ši-ma* can best be explained as a mistake of the scribe for *ta-aš-ṭu-ra-an-na-ši-ma*.

[77]*CD* 115 gives "fetter," "chains," as the meanings for *iškaru*. At the same time a possible connection with אִשָּׁכָר = "gift," "present," is noted. The various uses of the word favor the latter etymology. Cf. *HRETA* 111:9, 10 for *4,000 a-gur-ru iš-kar-šu a-na* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Urukki i-nam-din*, "4,000 bricks as his *iškaru* to the Bêlit of Erech he shall give." Cp. *AENP* 96:5; 386:1, 2. Also note the following: *StrNbn* 163:9, *napḫaru 50 šiqil kaspi iš-ka-ri*, "a total of 50 shekels of silver as *iškari*;" *StrCyr* 326:1-4, *iš-ka-ri ša ultu* ^{ara}*bAyaru šattu . . . . . adi* ^{ara}*bAyaru šattu 8* ^{m}*Šú-la-*[*a*] . . . . . ^{md}*Bunene-ibni ú ḫsâbêmeš-šu-nu . . . . . a-na Ê-bar-ra id-din-nu*, "*Iškari*, which from the month Iyyar of the year . . . . . until the month Iyyar of the 8th year, Shulâ . . . . . Bunene-ibni and their workmen . . . . . to Ebarra gave." The *iškari* given consisted of articles of clothing. In these passages and those of the text under consideration *iškaru* seems to refer to some sort of donation or tribute that was due the temple. Line 22, which contains a provision intimating that the *iškaru* is not to be diminished, corroborates this view. Cf. note 1 for suggestion that *iškaru* may be connected with Arabic شَكَرَ = "to thank," "to praise." See Gesenius, Buhl. 1921, p. 71, under אִשָּׁכָר.

ʰšatammu Ê-an-na 8 *u* ^{md}*Nabû-aḫ-iddin* ^{ḫ}*šaqû šarri* · *iq-bu-ú-šu-nu-tu* 9 *um-ma at-tu-nu ina mi-ir*[78] *lib-bi-ku-nu a-ḫa-meš* 10 *šú-ṭu-ru-a-ma iṣṣurâti*^{zun} *iš-ka-ri a-na* 11 ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *in-na-a* ^{ḫ}*PAG-KAK*^{meš} 12 *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *it-ti a-ḫa-meš* 13 *im-ri-qu-ma a-ḫa-meš ú-za-'-zu* 14 ^{md}*Šamaš-iddin u* ^{m}*Ta-li-mu bêlê*^{meš} *iš-ka-ri* 15 *ištên*(*-en*) *pu-ut šanî*(*-i*) *na-šú-ú* 16 ^{m}*Zêri-ia* ^{md}*Na-na-a-êreš u* ^{m}*La-kip bêlê*^{meš} *iš-ka-ri* 17 *ištên*(*-en*) *pu-ut šanî*(*-i*) *na-šú-ú* 18 ^{m}*Ri-mut u* ^{m}.....^{d}*Ištar bêlê*^{meš} *iš-ka-ri* 19 *ištên* (*-en*) *pu-ut šanî*(*-i*) *na-šú-ú* 20 ^{m}*Nâdina*(*-na*)*-aplu* ^{m}..... ^{m}*Ardi-*^{d}*Innina*(*-na*) *bêlê*^{meš} *iš-ka-ri* 21 *ištên*(*-en*) *pu-ut šanî*(*-i*) *na-šú-ú* 22 *ša iš-ka-ri ú-ma-aṭ-ṭu-ú ḫi-ṭu ša ili u šarri i-šad-dad.*

"1 *Širkê,* the fowlers[79] of the Bêlit of Erech, 2 who to Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, the son of 3 Nâdin, son of Dabibi, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, 4 the chief overseer of Êanna, spoke as follows: 5 'Concerning this report ye have written us and 6 we have kept the donation[80] intact and to the Bêlit of Erech 7 we have given (it).' Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, 8 and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, spoke to them 9 as follows: 'Ye in the obedience (?) of your hearts 10 write (an agreement?) with one another and birds as a donation to 11 the Bêlit of Erech give.' The fowlers 12 of the Bêlit of Erech with one another 13 proved claim and distributed (the responsibility) among themselves."

Lines 14-21: Four groups of *bêlê*^{meš} *iš-ka-ri,* each group assuming definite responsibility.

Line 22: "Whoever decreases the donation will commit a sin against the god and the king."

Names of three witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 12th of Sivan, the 8th year of Cyrus.

It may be presumed that this document has to do with the maintenance of the temple's supply of fowls for food or sacrificial purposes. That members of the *širkûtu* should be held responsible for this accords with other duties of the order. Not enough detailed

[78]The expression *ina mi-ir lib-bi-ku-nu* seems to conform in meaning to *ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-ku-nu,* "in the joy of your hearts," "of your own free will." Cf. *PsrVrtr.* LXXIII:2 for *i-na mi-gir lib-bi-šu,* "in the obedience of his heart." Also *StrNbn* 356:12. Possibly *mi-ir* is a mistake of the scribe for *mi-gi-ir.*

[79]Dr. Tremayne discusses the meaning of *ʰPAG-KAK* very thoroughly in his dissertation from the standpoint of all the references in *CD, Hwb,* etc., and his conclusion is that "fowler" is the best translation in this text.

[80]See note 77.

circumstances are mentioned in the text to warrant extensive conclusions, but it is clear that there were *širkê* who acted as fowlers and that they had to render a strict account of their activities in that capacity.

Rental of a house belonging to a *širku.*

YBT Vol. VII 2—1 *Bît* ^{md}*A-nu-aḫ-iddin apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Mušallim-*^{d}*Marduk* 2 ^{ḫ}*širku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *iti bît* 3 *mârê*^{meš} *ša* ^{md}*In-nin-zêr-ušabši*(*-ši*) *apil-šu ša* ^{m}*Ba-laṭ-su* 4 *ša i-na ri-e-ḫu ša ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{md}*A-nu-aḫ-iddin* 5 *a-na Ê-an-na na-ša-' a-na šatti* 6 *3 šiqil kaspi a-na i-di bîti ina pa-ni* 7 ^{md}*Šamaš-ka-ṣir apil-šu ša* ^{md}*A-nu-aḫ-iddin* 8 *ú-ru i-ša-an-na bat-qu* 9 *ša a-šur-ru-ú i-ṣab-bat* 10 *a-ḫi kaspi ina rêš šatti ù* 11 *a-ḫi kaspi ina mi-šil šatti i-nam-din* 12 *ul-tu ûmu 21*^{kam} *ša* ^{araḫ}*Šabâṭu bîtu ina pa-ni-šu.*

"1 The house of Anu-aḫ-iddin, the son of Mushallim-Marduk, 2 a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, adjoining the house 3 of the sons of Innin-zêr-ushabshi, the son of Balâṭsu, 4 which for the claim which is against Anu-aḫ-iddin 5 to Êanna is delivered, at the yearly rate of 6 3 shekels of silver for the rent of the house, is at the disposal of 7 Shamash-kâṣir, the son of Anu-aḫ-iddin. 8 The woodwork he shall renew; the crack 9 of the wall he shall close up. 10 Half of the silver at the beginning of the year and 11 half of the silver at the middle of the year he shall pay. 12 From the 21st day of Shebaṭ the house is at his disposal."

Names of an official, three witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 21st day of Shebaṭ, the accession year of Cyrus.

The significance of this text centers about the fact that a house belonging to a *širku* was held by the temple on account of an unpaid debt. The *širku* had a son who was able to rent the house from the temple for three shekels of silver a year on condition that he would keep the property in good repair.

Document concerning the slaves of a *širku.*

YBT Vol. VII 114—1 ^{md}*Bêl-nâ'id* ^{ḫ}*ašaridu* ^{ḫ}*širku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) ^{d}*Innina Uruk*^{ki} ^{md}*Nabû-bêl-uṣur* ^{ḫ}*qal-la-šu* 2 *a-na 1 ma-na kaspi a-na šîmi gam-ru-tu a-na* ^{m}*Ṭa-bi-ia* 3 *mâri-šu ša* ^{md}*Nabû-šum-iškun*(*-un*) *id-di-in-nu-ma* ^{md}*Nabû-bêl-ú-ṣur* 4 *a-na bît* ^{m}*Ṭa-bi-ia la i-ru-bu ù kaspa-ám* 5 *1 ma-na šîmu* ^{md}*Nabû-bêl-uṣur* ^{ḫ}*qal-la-šu i-na qât* 6 ^{m}*Ṭa-bi-ia in-ni-ṭir* ^{md}*Bêl-nâ'id ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šu* 7 ^{md}*Šamaš-iddin* ^{ḫ}*qal-la-šu* ^{ḫ}*aškapu ḫu-um-mu-ru*

šú-bil-tum ku-um 8 *^{md}Nabû-bêl-ú-ṣur a-na ^{m}Ṭa-bi-ia mâri-šu ša ^{md}Nabû-šum-iškun(-un)* 9 *id-di-nu pu-ut ^{h}si-ḫi-i ù ^{h}pa-kir-ra-[nu]* 10 *ša ina eli ^{md}Šamaš-iddin ib-ba-aš-šú-ú*[81] 11 *^{md}Bêl-nâ'id na-ši.*

"1 Bêl-nâ'id, the prince, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, Nabû-bêl-uṣur, his slave 2 for 1 mina at the full price to Ṭâbîa, 3 the son of Nabû-shum-ishkun, gave and Nabû-bêl-uṣur 4 into the house of Ṭâbîa did not enter and the silver amounting to 5 1 mina, the price of Nabû-bêl-uṣur, his slave, from 6 Ṭâbîa was received. Bêl-nâ'id of his own free will 7 Shamash-iddin, his slave, the shoemaker *ḫummuru,*[82] as a present in place of 8 Nabû-bêl-uṣur, to Ṭâbîa, the son of Nabû-shum-ishkun, 9 gave. The responsibility of claimant and plaintiff, 10 which is upon Shamash-iddin, 11 Bêl-nâ'id assumes."

Three incomplete lines follow. Names of four witnesses and the scribe. Dated in Erech, the 5th of Ab, the 1st year of Cambyses.

It is interesting to note that a *širku* could own slaves. In this case the *širku* was of very high rank, in reality a member of the nobility. The first part of the document deals with the sale of a slave by the *širku.* This sale was not consummated, as the slave for some reason did not go to the house of his new owner, and the money involved in the transaction was returned. The *širku* then presented another slave to the man who had attempted to secure possession of the first slave. This may be taken as an indication of the wealth and generosity of the *širku.*

Promissory note in which a *širku* is interested.

YBT Vol. VII 180—1 *13 gur 2 pi 18 qa ŠE-BAR zittu qaq-qar makkur* 2 *^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki} u ^{d}Na-na-a [ša qât] ^{m}Muk-ki-e-a* 3 *apil-šu ša ^{md}Innina-zêr-ušabši(-ši) ^{h}ikkaru ^{h}širku(PA-KAB-DU) ^{d}Innina Uruk^{ki}* 4 *ina muḫ-ḫi ^{m}Gu-za-nu apil-šu ša ^{md}Marduk-êṭir* 5 *ina $^{ara\check{b}}$Ayaru ŠE-BAR-ám 13 gur 2 pi 18 qa* 6 *ina ^{iš}ma-ši-ḫu ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} ina muḫ-ḫi* 7 *^{nâr}Pit-qa i-nam-din.*

"1 13 kors, 2 *pi,* 18 *qa* of barley, the portion of the land, the property of 2 Innina of Erech and Nanâ, [entrusted to] Mukkêa, 3 the son of Innina-

[81]The use of *i-ba-aš-šú-ú* in this context is unusual, as forms of the verb *a'âlu* are generally used. The form *ib-ba-aš-šu-ú* occurs in *VS* V 149:8. See under *bašû* in *TlqNB.*

[82]This term is a form like *nukkusu* from *nakâsu.* It is difficult to determine its meaning in this context. Cf. חמר *Hwb* p. 283 and Gesenius, Buhl, 1921, p. 242. Note *ḫâmiru* as a derivative of *ḫâru, CD* p. 334.

zêr-ushabshi, the husbandman, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 4 to be paid by Guzanu, the son of Marduk-êṭir. 5 In the month Iyyar, the barley amounting to 13 kors, 2 *pi*, 18 *qa*, 6 according to the measure of the Bêlit of Erech, upon 7 the river Pitqa he shall pay.''

Two incomplete lines are followed by the names of two witnesses and the scribe. Dated in the city *^{nâr}Pit-qa ša ^{md}Bêl-êṭir ši-i-ḫu ša Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki}*, the 7th of Iyyar, the 5th year of Cambyses.

This document evidently refers to a quantity of barley belonging to the temple, but entrusted to a *širku* who gave it to Guzanu. The latter agrees to pay it back at a certain time and place.

Lease of land from Belshazzar by a *širku*.

REN 150—1 *^{m}Ib-ni-^{d}In-nin apil-šu ša ^{m}Ba-la-ṭu ^{ḫ}širku(PA-KAB-DU) ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} ^{md}Bêl-šar-uṣur* 2 *mâr šarri bêla-šu ú-ṣa-al-li um-ma 625 gur ^{še}zêri Bît me-ri-šu* 3 *ina ^{še}zêri pi-i šul-pu ša ^{d}Bêlit ša Uruk^{ki} ša ina ^{tâmirtu}Su-man-dar 100 ^{ḫ}ikkarâtu^{meš}* 4 *100 alpê^{meš} ù 50 littê rabâti mâr šarri bêlu-a lid-di-nam-ma ina šatti* 5 *5,000 gur ŠE-BAR ga-mir-tum ina ^{iš}ma-ši-ḫu ša šarri ina Ê-an-na lud-*[*din*] 6 *^{md}Bêl-šar-uṣur mâr šarri bêlu-šu iš-me-šu-ma 625 gur ^{še}zêri Bît* [*me-ri-šu*] 7 *ina ^{še}zêri pi-i šul-pu ša ina ^{tâmirtu}Su-man-dar 100 ^{ḫ}ikkarâtu^{meš} 100 alpê um-*..... 8 *ù 50 littê rabâti^{meš} a-na ^{m}Ib-ni-^{d}In-nin apil-šu ša ^{m}Ba-la-ṭu id-din ina šatti* 9 *5,000* [*gur*] *ŠE-BAR ga-mir-tum ina ^{iš}ma-ši-ḫu ša šarri ina Ê-an-na i-nam-din* 10 *3,000 ma-ak-ṣa-ru*[83] *ša ti-ib-nu ina eli maš-qat-tum*[84] *i-nam-din.*

[83]One of the meanings of *kaṣâru* is ''to bind.'' Hence *ma-ak-ṣa-ru* in this context means ''bundle.'' Cf. *VS* VI 224:4, 9, for *ma-ak-ṣa-ru* in a text dealing with straw used in making bricks. Compare *Exodus* 5:7-18.

[84]*Maš-qat-tum* is derived from *šaqû* = ''to water,'' ''to give to drink.'' Cf. *CD* p. 608 for forms *mašqû* = ''watering place,'' and *mašqîtu* = ''watering.'' *Mašqattum* suggests ''watered region,'' the place where the straw was to be delivered instead of being left at an inland spot. *REN* 34:7 contains the form *maš-qa-ti* used in the same sense. *REN* 26:4, 5 has the following statement: *maš-qa-ti ša dBêlit ša Urukki ina pa-ni-ia ia-a-nu*, ''there is no watered region of the Bêlit of Erech at my disposal.'' The phrase *ina eli maš-qat-tum* is paralleled in meaning by *ina muḫ-ḫi me-e*, *REN* 11:6, 19; *ina eli mêmeš*, *REN* 40:9, 17; *ina eli mêmeš rabûti*, *REN* 41:8; *ina muḫ-ḫi mêmeš rabûtimeš*, *REN* 41:14; *ina muḫ-ḫi me-e rabûtimeš*, *REN* 26:10, 18, 19. Cf. also *REN* 159:8. The word *maškattum* in *CD* p. 604 must be read *mašqattum* as the references given indicate. It is interesting that contracts provided for the delivery of grain, straw, bricks, etc., at some canal or stream so that they might be transported by water to their final destination. Cf. *YBT* Vol. VII 180:6, 7 for *ina muḫ-ḫi ^{nâr}Pit-qa i-nam-din.*

"1 Ibni-Innin, the son of Balâṭu, a *širku* of the Bêlit of Erech, Belshazzar, 2 the son of the king, his lord, besought as follows: '625 kors of the seed field *Bît mêrišu* 3 from the uncultivated land of the Bêlit of Erech which is in the vicinity of Sumandar, 100 husbandmen, 4 100 oxen and 50 mature cows, may the son of the king, my lord, give me and yearly 5 5,000 kors of barley in full, according to the measure of the king, in Eanna let me give.' 6 Belshazzar, the son of the king, his lord, heard him and 625 kors of the seed field *Bît mêrišu* 7 from the uncultivated land which is in the vicinity of Sumandar, 100 husbandmen, 100 oxen..... 8 and 50 mature cows to Ibni-Innin, the son of Balâṭu, he gave. Yearly 9 5,000 kors of barley in full, according to the measure of the king, in Êanna he shall give. 10 3,000 bundles of straw at the watered region he shall deliver."

The remaining part of the lease is not given as it is partially mutilated. Names of seven witnesses and the scribe. Dated in ..... the 27th day of ....., the 11th year of Nabonidus.

This lease represents a legal contract of more than ordinary significance. The heavy obligations assumed and the high personage with whom the contract was made indicate that it was possible for a *širku* to rise to no mean position in the business world of his day. *YBT* Vol. VII 47 is the record of a lease of land from the temple by a *širku*. The ground leased was five kors of small date-palm land, the property of Ishtar, for cultivation for five years. *REN* 26:14, 15 contains the following: *ri-ḫi-it* ^{še}*zêri ša a-na* ^{ḫ}*ši-ra-ku* 15 *ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *ša ina pâni* ^{ḫ}*ša-kin nadnu*(*-nu*), "the balance of the seed field which is given to the members of the *širkûtu* of the Bêlit of Erech who are at the disposal of the governor." *StrDar* 80:14 and 265:5, 6 refer to ^{md}*Nabû-uballiṭ* (*-iṭ*) ^{ḫ}*ši-rik* ^{d}*Marduk* as having an important part in land contracts.

Money given to a chief *širku*.

YBT Vol. VII 40—1 *1 ma-na kaspi ina qât* 2 ^{m}*Muk-ki-e-a apil* ^{m}*Mušêzib-*^{d}*Bêl* 3 *1/2 ma-na 6 šiqlu ina qât* 4 ^{m}*Kud-da-a* 5 *napḫaru 1 1/2 ma-na 6 šiqil kaspi* 6 *a-na* ^{md}*In-nin-aḫê* ^{mc}*-iddin* 7 ^{ḫ}*rab širki*(*PA-KAB-DU*).

"1 1 mina of silver from 2 Mukkêa, the son of Mushêzib-Bêl; 3 1/2 mina, 6 shekels from 4 Kuddâ; 5 a total of 1 1/2 minas, 6 shekels of silver, 6 to Innin-aḫê-iddin, 7 the chief *širku* (are given)."

Dated the 14th of Ṭebet, the 4th year of Cyrus.

This brief record is another indication that there was a chief *širku.* It is unique in its reference to the payment of money to the order.[85]

The following miscellaneous references to the *širkûtu,* excerpts from texts some of which are not completely preserved, are given in order that all available material may be presented in this discussion. The translations will be a sufficient explanation of their bearing upon the nature of the *širkûtu.*

REN 126:1-5—1 *Suluppu ša a-na ri-ḫi-it kurummatê*^{me} 2 *ša a-di lib-bi* ^{arab}*Addaru a-na* ^{h}*um-ma-nu* 3 *ù* ^{h}*širkê(PA-KAB-DU*^{me}*) ša dul-lu ina Ê-an-na* 4 *ip-pu-šu in-na-ad-di-in* ^{arab}*Šabâṭu ûmu 7*^{kam} 5 *šattu 8*^{kam} ^{d}*Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili*^{ki}.

"1 Dates which are for the balance of the food, 2 which up to the month Adar for the artisans 3 and *širkê,* who perform work in Êanna, 4 were given. The 7th of Shebaṭ, 5 the 8th year of Nabonidus."

The remaining 17 lines of the tablet contain a statement of the quantities received from various persons.

REN 171:9, 10—9 *Ina lib-bi 126 gur 1 pi 12 qa ŠE-BAR a-na* 10 *kurummatê*^{zun} *ša* ^{h}*ši-ra-ku ša dul-lu ša Raq-qat-*^{d}*Šamaš,* "9 Of it there were 126 kors, 1 *pi,* 18 *qa* of barley for 10 the food of the members of the *širkûtu* of the work of Raqqat-Shamash."

REN 167:8-11—8 *316 gur ŠE-BAR ina kurummatê*$^{zun\ meš}$ *ša* ^{h}*ši-ra-ku* 9 *ina* ^{arab}*Ayaru šattu 6*^{kam} ^{d}*Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili*^{ki} 10 ^{m}*Ša-*^{d}*Nabû-i-šal-lim* ^{h}*qal-la ša* ^{md}*Nabû-šar-uṣur* ^{h}*šaqû šarri* 11 *ina na-aš-par-ti ša* ^{md}*Nabû-šar-uṣur ina qâti-i-ni it-ta-ši.*

"8 316 kors of barley of the members of the *širkûtu* 9 in the month Iyyar, the 6th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, 10 Sha-Nabû-ishallim, the slave of Nabû-shar-uṣur, the chief officer of the king, 11 at the command of Nabû-shar-ûṣur, from us received."

REN 167:14-16—14 *136 gur ŠE-BAR* 15 *u suluppi ina kurummatê*$^{zun\ meš}$ *ša* ^{h}*ši-ra-ku* ^{m}*Ša-*^{d}*Nabû-i-šal-lim* 16 *ina na-aš-par-ti ša* ^{md}*Nabû-šar-uṣur ina qâti-ia it-ta-ši.*

[85] Cf. *NLE* 41:6-8.

"14 136 kors of barley 15 and dates of the food of the members of the *širkûtu* Sha-Nabû-ishallim 16 at the command of Nabû-shar-uṣur from me received."

Other references of a similar nature are the following: *NLE* 106:37, *Ina kurummatêᶻᵘⁿ ʰšir-ki-tu ša ᵈNa-*[*na*]*-a,* "Of the food of the *širku* order of Nanâ." *NLE* 41:6-8, *Kaspám 1/2 ma-na ša ûmu 3ᵏᵃᵐ ša ᵃʳᵃᵇNisannu a-na kurummatêᵐᵉ ša suluppi a-na ʰši-ra-ku ša-aṭ-ru,* "Silver, 1/2 mina, which on the 3rd day of Nisan for food (consisting) of dates for members of the *širkûtu* is recorded." *LCE* 95:20, *ŠE-BAR ina lib-bi a-na ʰši-ra-ka u ʰaduppêᵐᵉš,* "The barley thereof for the members of the *širkûtu* and the shipwrights." *VS* VI 230:1, *Qîmu kurummatêᶻᵘⁿ ʰši-ra-ka,* "Flour, the food of the members of the *širkútu.*" See *also* l. 12 *ibid.*

YBT Vol. VII 79:12, 13—12 *1 ʰširku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ultu makkuri a-na ᵐᵈNabû-iqîša*(*-ša*) *ᵐKi-di-nu u ᵐŠa-du-nu i-nam-din-nu-ma* 13 *littê rabâtiᵐᵉš i-ri-'.*

"12 One *širku* from the property (of Êanna) to Nabû-iqîsha, Kidinu and Shadunu they shall give and 13 he shall pasture the full grown cows."

This quotation is from a contract to furnish milk for the feast of Ishtar for one year. It is dated the 12th of Sivan, the 8th year of Cyrus. The three men mentioned above were supplied with cows and a *širku* to shepherd them.

YBT Vol. VII 89:8-11—8 *ᵐᵈNabû-mukîn-aplu ʰšatammu Ê-an-na mâri-šu ša ᵐNa-din apil ᵐDa-bi-bi* 9 *ᵐÊ-an-na-šar-uṣur ʰširku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ a-na* 10 [*ma*]*-aṣ-ṣar-tum ša bît a-ki-tum a-na ʰâtû-ú-tu* 11 .....*ip-qi-id.*

"8 Nabû-mukîn-aplu, the administrator of Êanna, the son of Nâdin, son of Dabibi, 9 entrusted Êanna-shar-uṣur, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, with the gatekeepership 10 for (the purpose of) guarding the banquet house."

The original gatekeeper fled and, after the *širku* was appointed, another man asked for the position and received it. The office may have been desirable on account of its emoluments.

YBT Vol. VII 158:1-4—1 *ᵐᵈDan-nu-aḫêᵐᵉ-šu-ibni mâri-šu ša ᵐᵈNa-na-a-iddin* 2 *ʰikkaru* [*ḫ*]*širku*(*PA-KAB-DU*) *ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ ša a-na ᵐᵈNabû-mukîn-aplu* 3 *ʰšatammu Ê-an-na ù ᵐᵈNabû-aḫ-iddin ʰšaqû šarri* 4 *ʰbêl piqittum*(*ŠÌG*) *Ê-an-na iq-bu-ú um-ma.*

"1 Dannu-aḫêshu-ibni, the son of Nanâ-iddin, 2 the husbandman, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, who to Nabû-mukîn-aplu, 3 the administrator of Êanna, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the chief officer of the king, 4 the chief overseer of Êanna, spoke as follows:"

The rest of the text, which is only partially preserved, deals with the sale of sheep belonging to the temple.

YBT Vol. VII 128:9-12—9 *ḫMâr bânîmeš ša ina pa-ni-šu-nu mdInnina-a-lik-pa-ni ḫširku(PA-KAB-DU)dInnina Urukki* 10 *ḫna-qi-du ša dInnina Urukki iq-bu-ú um-ma* 11 *mBêl-šu-nu ḫširkû(PA-KAB-DU) dInnina Urukki mâri-šu ša* 12 *mNûr-e-a,* etc.

"9 *Mâr bânî,* in whose presence Innina-âlik-pâni, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, 10 a shepherd of Innina of Erech, spoke as follows: 11 'Bêlshunu, a *širku* of Innina of Erech, the son of 12 Nûrêa,'" etc.

The rest of the document, which is partially mutilated, describes the trial of Bêlshunu for killing a sheep belonging to the temple.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION.

It is now possible to summarize the grammatical material contained in the texts dealing with the *širkûtu* and to formulate more general conclusions as to the nature of the order. The terms used to designate individual members of the order or the order as a whole will first be tabulated.

Terms derived from *šarâku.*

ʰši-ra-ku, StrNbn 234:7; 1129:7; *StrNbk* 253:2; *StrCyr* 288:7; *NLE* 41:8; 73:4; *REN* 26:14; 167:8, 15; 171:10; *AENN* 89.3; 256:7; *AENP* 103:5; 247:8.
ʰši-ra-ku ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, REN 154:10; 14, 15.
ʰši-ra-ki, NLE 200:9.
ʰši-ra-ak, AENP 402:5.
ʰši-rak, AENN 72:3.
ʰši-rakᵐᵉš, AENN 234:2.
ʰši-rakᵐᵉš ša ᵈBêl, AENN 235:3, 4.
ʰši-rakᵐᵉ ša ᵈŠamaš, AENN 235:8.
ʰši-ra-ka, LCE 95:20; *VS* VI 202:3, 11; 230:1, 12.
ʰšir-ra-ku, VS VI 248:14.
ʰši-ri-ki iluᵐᵉš-ú-tu, UMBS Vol. II 65:13.
ʰši-rik....., *StrNbn* 945:4.
ʰši-rik ᵈMarduk, VS VI 143:6; *StrDar* 80:14; 265:5, 6.
ʰši-rik ᵈNabû, VS VI 100:3.
ʰši-rik ᵈŠamaš, StrCyr 281:1, 4; *StrNbn* 172:2.
ʰši-rik Urukᵏⁱ, YBT Vol. VII 149:2.
ʰšir-ku ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, REN 2:6.
ʰši-ir-ku ša ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ, CEHE line 31.
ʰšir-ku ša ᵈNergal, YBT Vol. VII 137:8.
ʰšir-ki, AENN 125:7; *StrNbn* 842:3; *ʰši-ir-ki, REN* 175:4.
ʰšir-ki ša ᵈNergal, REN 148:3.
ʰšir-ki-tu ša ᵈNa-[*na*]*-a, NLE* 106:37.
ᶠšir-kat ᵈŠamaš, StrNbn 958:2.
ᶠšir-ki-a-ta, REN 56:4.
ᶠšir-ka-tum ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, REN 224:14, 15.
ᶠ[*šir-ka*]*-tum, YBT* Vol. VII 66:21.

ʰšir-ku-ú-tu, REN 224:23.
ʰši-ik-ka ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, YBT Vol. VII 50:8.
ʰšim-ku, BE VIII 104:3.
ʰšim-ki, AENN 161:5; *StrCyr* 332:16; *StrNbn* 1010:15.
ʰšim-ki ša ᵈIštar, YBT Vol. VII 17:13, 14.
ʰšim-ki-ú-tu, StrCyr 332:19, 23.
ʰši-iš-ki ša ᵈBêl, BE VIII 24:2.
ʰrab ši-ra-ka, BRM Part I 94:9.[87]
ʰrab ši-ir-ku ša ᵈŠamaš, StrNbn 643:3.
ʰrab šir-ki, AENN 38:3.
ʰrab šim-ki, StrNbn 317:7, 10; 496:6; 746:9; 906:13; 1010:11; 1037:7.
ʰrab ši-iš-ku, StrCyr 74:8; *StrNbk* 253:3.

Terms derived from *PA-KAB-DU* = *šarâku.*

ʰPA-KAB-DU, REN 186:6; *YBT* Vol. VII 65:2; 79:12.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉˢ⁽ᵐᵉ⁾, LCE 169:16, 20, 21; *REN* 108:5; 126:3; *StrNbk* 169:2; *YBT* Vol. VII 132:10; *VS* VI 204:1; *NLE* 17:40, 42.
ʰPA-KAB-DU ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, HRETA 111:3, 4, 7; *REN* 150:1; *YBT* Vol. VII 1:2; 2:2; 20:16; 44:4, 11; 88:16.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉˢ⁽ᵐᵉ⁾ ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, LCE 106:5; *REN* 116:11, 12, 14, 15, 16; *YBT* Vol. VII 154:1, 2, 5, 6.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉš ʰPAG-KAKᵐᵉš ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, YBT Vol. VII 69:1.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉ ša ᵈBêl, AENN 401:2.
ʰPA-KAB-DU ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ, CEHE line 1, 2; *LCE* 106:3; *YBT* Vol. VII 73:5; 77:1, 2; 89:9; 102:1; 114:1; 128:9, 11; 146:11; 152:1; 158:2; 179:2; 180:6; 187:6.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉš ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ, YBT Vol. VII 152:8; 179:4; 187:1.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉš⁽ᵐᵉ⁾ ša ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ, YBT Vol. VII 70:4; 137:20; 172:2.
ʰPA-KAB-DU ša ᵈNergal, REN 148:3; *YBT* Vol. VII 137:8.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉ ḫal-qu-tu ša ᵈInnina Urukᵏⁱ, YBT Vol. VII 152:5, 6.
ʰPA-KAB-DUᵐᵉš ša ᵈLugal....., *StrNbn* 33:4.
ʰPA-KAB-DU ša ᵈŠamaš, StrNbn 842:6.
ʰPA-KAB-DU-ú-tu, AENN 361:3; *HRETA* 132:44; *REN* 79:16.
ʰPA-KAB-ú-tu, REN 80:16.
ᶠPA-KAB-DU-tum ša ᵈBêlit ša Urukᵏⁱ, YBT Vol. VII 91:2; 107:7.

[87]The document as a whole is an itemized report of date wine. Line 9 is as follows: *30 qa a-na ᵐᵈBêl-iqîša(-ša) ʰrab ši-ra-ka,* "30 *qa* to (or for) Bêl-iqîsha, a chief *širku.*"

fPA-KAB-DU-ti ša dBêlit ša Urukki, YBT Vol. VII 56:3, 4.
fPA-KAB-DU-tummeš ša dBêlit ša Urukki, YBT Vol. VII 107:3.
fPA-KAB-tum ša dBêlit ša Urukki, YBT Vol. VII 60:2.
hrab PA-KAB-DU, StrCamb 9:10(?); *StrNbn* 976:9, 16; 988:8; *YBT* Vol. VII 40:7.

Terms derived from *zakû*.

fza-ki-tu, LCE 161:7; *REN* 137:8; 186:2; *AENP* 326:13.
fza-ki-ti ša dBêlit ša Urukki, REN 186:4, 5.
fza-ki-tum ša dBêlit ša Urukki, YBT Vol. VII 92:2, 3.
fza-ki-ti ša dBêlit ša Urukki ša kak-kab-ti še-en-di, REN 129:1, 2.

Certain variations in the above terms are due to the influence of the context in which they are found, but others must be explained as the result of the tendency of a widely used term to be modified by the laws of euphony.[88] A study of the passages in which *hši-ra-ku* occurs leads to the conclusion that it was used in a collective sense.[89]

The act of presenting or stating that an individual belonged to the deity is expressed in the following ways:

a-na dBêlit ša Urukki ad-din, REN 154:9.
a-na dIštar id-di-nu-', YBT Vol. VII 17:7, 8.
a-na dInnina Urukki la id-di-na-an-ni, YBT Vol. VII 66:6, 7.
a-na dInnina Urukki u dNa-na-a id-dan-nu-na-a-šu, HRETA 132:4.
a-na dInnina Urukki ù dNa-na-a a-na hPA-KAB-DU-ú-tu id-di-nu-šu-nu-tu, HRETA 132:43, 44.
a-na hPA-KAB-DU-ú-tu a-na dBêlit ša Urukki id-di-nu-uš, AENN 361:3-5.
a-na hPA-KAB-DU-ú-tu a-na dBêlit ša Urukki it-ta-din-su, REN 79:15, 16; 80:15, 16. (Variant *hPA-KAB-ú-tu.*)
a-na dBêlit ša Urukki ú-zak-ku-ú, REN 56:5, 6.
a-na d[Bêlit] ša Urukki uz-zak-kan-na, YBT Vol. VII 66:3.
a-na hšir-ku-ú-tu a-na dBêlit ša Urukki ú-zak-ku-šu, REN 224:23, 24.

[88]Note especially *širku=šišku=šikku=šimku.* Cf. note 8. The form *šikku* occurs only once, *YBT* Vol. VII 50:8, as *ši-ik-ka.*

[89]The term *hši-rak* occurs both with and without the plural sign. Cf. *REN* 154:10, 14 for a good example of *hši-ra-ku* used in plural sense. Note also *AENP* 103:5 and *LCE* 95:20. The latter text has *hši-ra-ka u haduppêmeš,* and *hši-ra-ka* has evidently a plural significance the same as *haduppêmeš.* For discussion of the meaning of *aduppu* see *RA* 1920 p. 105.

a-na ^{d}*Innina Urukki ù* ^{d}*Na-na-a ú-zak-ki-šu-nu-tu, HRETA* 132:6, 7.
pa-ni ^{d}*Bêlit ša Urukki ta-ad-dag-gal, YBT* Vol. VII 66:21.
ša ^{d}*Bêlit ša Urukki šú-ú, REN* 2:20. Cf. *REN* 154:14, 15; 186:4, 5.
^{h}*šim-ki ša* ^{d}*Ištar iš-šú-ú*(?),[90] *YBT* Vol. VII 17:13, 14.

In the above passages four different verbal expressions are used, viz., *nadânu* = "to give"; *zakû,* which in the second stem means "to make free," then "to make pure," "to consecrate"; *dagâlu pâni* = "to be at the disposal of"; and *ša.....šú-ú,* the literal meaning of which is "he (is) of," hence "belongs to." It is to be noted that the root *šarâku* = "to present" is not used as a verb in the texts dealing with the *širkûtu.* The cylinder recording the dedication of Nabonidus' daughter as a votary contains the following statement: *mârtu ul-li-il-ma a-na* ^{d}*Sin ù* ^{d}*Nin-gal bêlêmeš -e-a aš-ru-uk,*[91] "The daughter I purified and dedicated to Sin and Nikkal, my lords." Another expression in the same inscription is *ub-bi-ib-šú-nu-ti-ma a-na* ^{d}*Sin ù* ^{d}*Nin-gal bêlêmeš -e-a ú-zak-ki-šú-nu-ti,*[92] "I purified them and for Sin and Nikkal, my lords, I sanctified them." It is not to be supposed that Nabonidus dedicated his daughter to an order of votaries similar to the *širkûtu* because he used the expression *ašruk,* but the strength of the term is indicated by the high position occupied by Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar as a princess and the important duties which devolved upon her after she became an *entu.* Presentation to a deity carried with it the idea of purification, as the words of Nabonidus prove. There can be no doubt that the members of the *širkûtu* were similarly purified. The expression ^{f}*za-ki-tu* is important evidence on this point. It is used in the sense of "sanctified," or "purified." Once it is followed by the phrase *ša kak-kab-ti še-en-di* = "of the star mark." This seems to indicate that there was a *zakîtu* marked with a star and one that was unmarked, which corroborates the supposition that there were two classes of the order.[93]

The phrases which refer to the mark of the star, as the distinguishing symbol of the *širkûtu,* and the act of implanting that mark upon the members of the order are the following:

[90] See note 35.
[91] *MI* No. 45, Col. II, line 10. Cf. *a-na dNin-ib . . . . . a-na ši-rik-ti iš-ruk, K & U AR* 44:1-9.
[92] *MI* No. 45, Col. II, lines 32 and 33.
[93] See page 38.

kak-kab-ti aš-mit, REN 154:8.
kak-kab-tum.....iš-mi-tan-ni, YBT Vol. VII 66:2, 3.
kak-kab-ti še-en-di, REN 129:2.
MUL-ti še-en-di, LCE 120:4.
kak-kab-ti ù ar-ra-a-ti ina eli ^{šir}*rit-ti-šu it-ta-di, REN* 79:14, 15; 80:14, 15.
kak-kab-tum ina muḫ-ḫi.....a-ta-mar, REN 57:11, 13.
kak-kab-tum ša muḫ-ḫi ri-it-ti-šu i-mu-ru, YBT Vol. VII 66:12.
kak-kab-ti ù ar-ra-a-tum ina muḫ-ḫi rit-ti.....la a-mu-ru, REN 224:20, 24.

MUL-ti = *kak-kab-ti* = "star" points to the well-known symbol of Ishtar and constitutes an appropriate sign of dedication to that deity.[94] The feminine form of the Babylonian word for "star" is used and this may be due to the fact that an actual star was not denoted by the term. *Ar-ra-a-tum*(*ti*) may be explained as the feminine plural of a noun from *arâru* = "to burn," or *arâru* = "to curse." If the former is its etymology it means "burnings," "brandings." The implantation of a star-shaped mark by means of a red-hot iron would insure permanency. At the same time it is possible that the mark was the result of scarification by means of a dagger and that the brandings or curse marks were additional symbols. The above references seem to indicate that the mark of the star could exist unaccompanied by branding.

The part of the body marked is indicated by the terms ^{šir}*rit-ti, rit-ti,* and *ri-it-ti-šu.* An idiom used in *REN* 129:4, 6, 8, 11 is *rittu šaṭâru.* The placing of an incised or branded mark upon a slave's or devotee's hand could well be expressed by the verb *šaṭâru* = "to write" in view of the nature of cuneiform script.[95] Cf. *PBSA* 1885, p. 104, line 4 for the phrase ^{šir}*ritti emitti-šu.....šaṭ-ra-at,* and *ibid.* 1884, p. 102, lines 4 and 5, for the phrase *rit-ti šumêli-šu... šaṭ-ra-tum.* See *M* 2614 for *DUB* = *rittu,* and the sign list in *BE* X for *DUB* = syllabic value *rit.* It is possible that the combination *DUB* + *ti* should be read *ritti*(*-ti*). The terms *emittu* and *šumêlu,* "right" and "left," indicate that *rittu* refers to "hand" rather than "seal," and the determinative for "flesh" corroborates the

[94]Cf. Zimmern *Akkadische Fremdwörter,* p. 68, for the suggestion that "star" may be derived from Ishtar. Cf. also *KAT*^{2} p. 425.

[95]Cf. Hebrew שָׁטַר the primary meaning of which is "to cut," "to grave with a stylus."

reading. The owner's name was evidently inscribed on a slave's hand.[96] *Rittu šaṭâru* has its counterpart in Hebrew כָּתַב יָד. See *Isaiah* 44:5 for the expression יִכְתֹּב יָדוֹ לַיהוָה, "He shall inscribe his hand, *Unto Yahweh.*" LXX has ἐπιγράψει χειρὶ αὐτοῦ· τοῦ θεοῦ εἰμί. According to *CD,* p. 990f, the primary meaning of *rittu* is "seal," "sign," and the secondary meaning "finger," "fist." See *JAOS,* Vol. 40, Part 1, Feb., 1920, p. 73. Cf. note in *ZA* 19, p. 243, where Streck holds with Müller that *rittu* comes from يَدٌ = "palm of the hand," and that "sign" is the secondary meaning due to the fact that finger nails were used in making marks upon contract tablets. Lucian, *De dea Syra,* 59, refers to persons who were branded on the wrist and neck, while Plato, *De legibus* IX, 853, refers to branding on the hand and forehead. Cf. *JAOS* 42, pp. 80-90.

Two verbs are used to denote the process of placing the mark of a star upon the *širkûtu. It-ta-di* comes from *nadû* = "to cast," "to place," and hence its use in this connection is easily understood. The other verb is represented by *aš-mit, iš-mi-tan-ni,* and *še-en-di,* the common root of which is *šamâtu. Šimtu,* as a nominal form from *šamâtu,* could readily change to *šintu,* and then to *šindu. ŠE-GÌN, B* 7499, = *šimtu. B* 225, shows that the same signs, used in connection with *KUŠ* = "skin," have the meaning *šindu.* Thus the verbal phrase *kakkabtu šamâtu* = "to mark with a star," has its counterpart in the nominal expression *kakkabtu šindu* = "star mark." In the *Elephantine Papyrus K5* the mark upon a slave is termed שנית על ידה.[97]

Kakkabtu šindu is also used to designate the mark of a star upon animals belonging to the temple.[98] Of extreme value is the pro-

[96]Cf. *StrCyr* 332:5, 6, *rittu ša mMušêzib-dŠamaš . . . . . šumi-šu iš-ṭur; PsrVrtr.* LXXI:3, *ša rit-tummeš-šu a-na šumi ša fKu-me-[ip-pi-tum šaṭ-ra-tum]; PsrVrtr* LXXIII:3, 4, *ša rit-ti šumêli-šu a-na šumi-ša fTub-ki-tum alti-šu šaṭ-ra-tum.* Cf. *Rev.* 3:12, "I will write upon him the name of my God," etc.

[97]Cf. *OLZ,* 1907, p. 627, and *ibid.* 1917, p. 102 and note. See *StrCyr* 307:9.

[98]*EEN* 123:1, 9; 156:5, 14, 15; 169:1, 15; 231:1, 17, 18; Cf. also *YBT* Vol. VII 7:38, 55, 58, 59, 60, 77, 88, 110, where *kak-kab-tum še-in-di-ti* occurs as well as *kak-kab-tum še-en-du. Ibid.* line 45 has *še-in-di-ti* used as permansive, in the following context, *1 littu rabîtu . . . . . ab-ka-ta-am-ma ina Ê-an-na še-in-di-ti,* "1 mature cow . . . . . was bought and marked in Eanna." Plut. *Lucullus* 24 and *De Iside et Osiride* 31 give instances of the marking of sacred cattle.

vision in two leases of land that temple officials shall mark animals with the iron *šindu* of Ishtar, the goddess of Erech. The phrase used is *ina šin-du parzilli ša* ^{d}*Bêlit ša Uruk*^{ki} *i-šim-mi-tum(ti)*.[99] Other forms of the verb *šamâtu* are *iš-mi-it*,[100] *taš-mit*,[101] *i-šim-mi-it*[102] and *i-šim-mi-tu*.[103] *AENN* 194 throws additional light upon the term *šindu*, stating that nine *šindu* of iron for oxen and sheep were placed at the disposal of a blacksmith *a-na ṣu-up-pu-ru*="for scratching." If this refers to slight markings, it may indicate that in this case the *šindu* was a metal tag to be fastened to the animal, as the indentations in the iron would have to be deep in order to brand a special mark upon the flesh. *YBT* Vol. VII 128:16, 17, 23 contains the expression *laḫrâti*^{zun} *ša kak-kab-tum parzilli*, which may be interpreted to mean either that the sheep were tagged with a metal star or that they bore the impress of a metal stamp upon their bodies.

The exact meaning of *šindu* is difficult to determine. It seems to be used to designate anything put on an object to mark, ornament, or distinguish it. Carpenters used *šindu* in their trade, as the following statements indicate: *4 ma-na ši-in-du ina pâni* ^{m}*Na-din* ^{ḫ}*nag-gâri, StrNbn* 416:1-4; *16 ma-na ši-in-di a-na* ^{m}*Šâpik-zêr ù ahê*^{meš}*-šu naggarê*^{meš}, *StrNbk* 126:1-4; *4 ma-na ši-in-du a-na* ^{md}*Marduk-uṣur* ^{ḫ}*naggari nadna(-na), StrNbk* 222:1-3; Cf. *StrNbk* 130:1, 2. The following passages indicate that *šindu* was used on doors and beds: *6 ma-na šindi(KUŠ-ŠE-GÌN) a-na* ^{iṣ}*dalti, BE* XIV 67:1, 2; *1/3 ma-na šindi(KUŠ-ŠE-GÌN) a-na* ^{iṣ}*irši, BE* XIV 74:1, 2; *6 qa qi-mu a-na šin-du ša* ^{iṣ}*dalâti*^{me}, *AENN* 300:1, 2. For the use of *šindu* on vehicles see *UMBS* II, 2, Nos. 30 and 140. *AENP* 193:11 has *kak-kab-ti šin-di-ti*, as a term denoting a star mark upon a garment (*šal-ḫu*). The statement that "flour" was used for *šindu* indicates that it could be made of finely powdered material, as "flour" may mean anything reduced to fine particles by grinding. The

[99] *REN* 11:14; 150:20. See V *R* 27 6 ef, and V *R* No. 1, 1.30, for *šindu ḫurâṣi*=gold *šindu*. Cf. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, 38:67; 35:36, 40, 41, 44, 47, 52, 53; 21:34.

[100] *REN* 233:3. Cf. *OLZ* Jan. 1922, p. 11, note.

[101] *AENN* 96:7; 166:6, in the interesting personal name *fŠa-dNa-na-a-taš-mit*, "The one whom Nanâ has marked."

[102] *REN* 233:13.

[103] *YBT* Vol. VII 43:8.

suggestion is made by Scheil in *RA*, 1920, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 104, that *šindu* was a resin used in preparing a varnish for covering wood. See *ibid.* p. 74, reverse, line 11, for the expression *šinda namirta* = "brilliant *šinda*." It seems, then, that a certain kind of *šindu* was a material used in giving a brilliant finish to articles made of wood, such as doors, beds, chariots, etc., or at any rate in adorning these objects in some way. Other passages showing that the term *šindu* was used to denote a mark upon cattle are the following: *immeru ....ša ina muḫ-ḫi ap-pi-šu ši-in-du,* "a sheep....upon whose nose was a *šindu*," *StrNbk* 360:10; *immeru....ša ši-in-du ina muḫ-ḫi-šu ia-a-nu,* "a sheep....upon which there was no *šindu*," *StrCamb* 1:1; *alpu...ša mu-ši-in-di-i-tum,* "an ox...that was marked (with a *šindu*)," *StrDar* 257:1, 2. See also *StrCyr* 44:2, 3. An expression indicating that *šindu* could designate a mark of servitude is *ši-in-du ša amtu-ú-tu,* "the *šindu* of female slavery," *StrCyr* 307:9.

It is not easy to determine the relation of *šamâtu* to other Semitic roots. Apparently the idiom *kakkabtu šamâtu* = *kakkabtu nadû*. This suggests a possible connection between *šamâtu* and Hebrew שׂוּם, שִׂים, although there perhaps ought to be other proof before the theory of denominative origin is finally accepted. The Arabic verbs وَسَّمَ = "to brand"[104] and وَشَّمَ = "to tattoo" are also suggestive. The ancient Arabic tribal mark, branded with a hot iron, was called وَسْم. The coincidence of Greek σῆμα = "sign," "mark," is to be noted.

If the basic meaning of the verb *šamâtu* were known, it would be less difficult to determine conclusively whether the star mark of the *širkûtu* of Ishtar was a brand burnt with a hot iron, a scar produced by a sharp instrument, a discoloration of the skin caused by tattooing, or a metal tag fastened to the body. If the mark was a permanent one, then the interpretation of the texts in *REN* need not be changed. On the other hand, if the mark was not a permanent one, i. e., if it could be discarded by the individual upon whom it had been placed, then the court testimonies in *REN* must be regarded as efforts to reclaim certain individuals as members of the *širkûtu*. The more rational supposition, however, is that the mark was a permanent one.

[104]Cf. *ZIB* = *šimtu, B* 4689, and *ZIB-DU-KIM-MU* = *gallabu, B* 4694.

In support of this there are interesting parallels. The Jews who were compelled to submit to initiation into the Dionysiac mysteries were branded with the figure of an ivy leaf.[105] Mythology points to the fact that ivy was sacred to Dionysus and that the ivy wreath was one of his personal adornments. Ivy was also sacred to Attis and Osiris. Eunuch priests of the former were tattoed with a pattern of ivy leaves.[106] Temple slaves at Canopus were branded with the sacred sign of Serapis, a Graeco-Egyptian god.[107] Busts, supposed to be those of Roman priests of Isis, are marked with the sign of the cult.[108] The disciples of Carpocrates were branded

[105]III *Macc.* 2:29f. Cumont in *The Mysteries of Mithra,* translated by J. M. McCormack, 1910 edition, p. 157, says, "Tertullian also compared the confirmation of his coreligionists to the ceremony in which they 'signed' the forehead of the soldier. It appears, however, that the sign or seal impressed was not, as in the Christian liturgy, an unction, but a mark burned with a red-hot iron like that applied in the army to recruits before they were admitted to the oath. This indelible imprint perpetuated the memory of the solemn engagement by which the person under vow contracted to serve in that order of chivalry which Mithraism constituted." Cf. *Ency. Brit.* Vol. VII, p. 114, for reference to the fact that Christian Copts are tattooed with a cross below the palm of the right hand.

[106]Frazer's *Golden Bough,* Vol. V, p. 278 and note.

[107]Herodotus II, 131.

[108]*American Journal of Archaeology,* 1904 pp. 11-43. The following quotations are interesting: "The Roman practice of branding evil-minded or unmanageable slaves is well known. The mark was a letter or letters, and indicated possibly the name of the owner. At any rate, it must have been a mark of identification. This mark was placed on the forehead, or the face, and was branded, or possibly sometimes painted. Recruits (*tirones*) in the Roman army are known to have been branded, though not necessarily on the forehead. Persons condemned to punishment and criminals or captives were occasionally identified thus." "But there existed a practice, especially in Oriental lands, which was of a somewhat different character. It consisted in placing a mark upon a human being, who thereby became the property of a god or was consecrated to his service. Herodotus II, 131 describes a temple of Heracles at Taricheiae, at the Canobic mouth of the Nile. 'If a man's slave take refuge at this temple,' says Herodotus, 'and have the sacred marks (*στίγματα ἱρά*) set upon him, thus giving himself over to the god, it is not lawful to lay hand upon him.'" "Furthermore, it is certain that in the Roman period pagan priests, not definitely named, branded themselves by way of self-consecration. This is evident from the passage in Prudentius (*Peristeph.* X, 1076-1085), where the martyr Romanus ridicules the religious practices of the pagans. 'Furthermore,' he says, 'the initiate before consecration is impressed with a seal; they place small needle-shaped instruments in the fire, and with these, glowing hot, they proceed to brand the body. Whatever part the fiery mark has sealed, this they declare is hallowed to their god.'" Professor D. M. Robinson called the writer's attention to this interesting article by Walter Dennison.

inside the lobe of the right ear.[109] The devotees of Çiva and Vishnu have their distinctive body marks.[110] Primitive people to-day practice tattooing and scarification as a part of their cult.[111] Totemic marks, according to some authorities, are regarded by their possessors as having religious significance.[112] Present-day Arabs attempt to protect their children from the evil eye by making three incisions in both cheeks.[113]

Evidences of a belief in sacred marks are not wanting in the Old and New Testaments. The protective mark upon Cain must have had a more than ordinary significance.[114] The Israelites were forbidden to mark their bodies by cutting,[115] and this no doubt was made necessary by their tendency to worship other gods whose cults required such markings. In the passover ceremony the mark of blood on the doors was a sacred sign insuring protection from

[109]Irenaeus I 25. One is reminded of the mark that was made upon the ear of a permanent slave by the Hebrews. *Deut.* 15:17.

[110]Cf. Sir Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism,* p. 67. "Again, it is important to note that both Śaivas and Vaishṇavas differ in the mode of branding their breasts, arms and other parts of their bodies with other distinctive marks of their sects. Such marks are burnt in with red-hot stamps, sometimes made of gold. In the case of Śaivas they represent the weapons and symbols of Śiva, such as the trident and liṅga; while the favourite brands of Vishṇu are the discus, the club and the conch shell. This practice was severely denounced by Śaṅkara, but apparently with little effect."

[111]Cf. A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast,* p. 146. "Besides the ordinary tribal tattoo-marks borne by all natives, the priesthood in Dahomi bear a variety of such marks, some very elaborate, and an expert can tell by the marks on a priest to what god he is vowed, and what rank he holds in the order. These hierarchical marks consist of lines, scrolls, diamonds, and other patterns, with sometimes a figure, such as that of a crocodile or chameleon. The shoulders are frequently seen covered with an infinite number of small marks, like dots, set close together. All these marks are considered sacred and the laity are forbidden to touch them."

[112]Cf. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy,* Vol. III, p. 353. "The practice of tattooing used to be prevalent among Western Tinnehs (N. W. America) and the figures tattooed on the breast had generally a totemic significance. Marks tattooed on forearms referred as a rule to a personal totemic animal revealed in a dream, and the bearing of whose symbol was supposed to create reciprocal sympathy and a sort of kinship between totem and tattooed individual." Cf. also Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art,* pp. 69-81, and W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia,* p. 212f.

[113]Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka,* 1888, II, p. 120f.

[114]*Gen.* 5:15. Cf. *ZATW* Vol. 14, p. 250f, *Kainzeichen* by Stade. This article gives some interesting facts concerning the practice of branding common among the ancients.

[115]*Lev.* 19:28; 21:5f; *Deut.* 14:1f.

the deity.[116] Similarly, in Ezekiel 9:4, 6, the men to be saved were marked on the forehead with a *Tau*. Paul, when he desired to emphasize his complete consecration to Christ, stated in symbolical language that he bore the marks of Jesus branded on his body,[117] and this he seems to contrast with circumcision, itself a mark of religious significance to the Hebrews. In the Apocalypse the sign of salvation is the name or seal of God on the forehead,[118] while the sign of perdition is the mark of the beast on the forehead or right hand.[119]

A closing summary of the facts brought together concerning the *širkûtu* may now be presented.

The *širkûtu* was an order of male and female persons who had been dedicated to various Babylonian deities, viz., Marduk, Nabû, Bêl, Shamash, Nergal and Ishtar. The order was recruited in different ways. Parents dedicated their children, and princes and civilians their slaves. Slaves dedicated to the *širkûtu* could remain in their master's house until the latter's death, whereupon they became the property of the deity. No doubt the supreme motive which led to the dedication of individuals to the *širkûtu* was a desire to secure the favor of the gods, but there is one instance in which the motive was a desire to save children from starvation. There are indications that the offspring of a *širku* belonged to the deity. At any rate, children born after a parent had been branded with the sacred symbol belonged to the order to at least the third generation. Foreigners, presumably captives in war, also became members.

The several references to a chief *širku* prove that the order was not a disorganized group of temple servants. Careful records of the membership were kept by the temple and the nobility. In cases of dispute the temple record was the deciding factor. The *širkûtu* connected with Ishtar seems to have been divided into two classes, those marked with a star, the symbol of the deity, and those not marked. If controversy arose, the status of an unmarked *širku*

[116] *Ex.* 12:22f.

[117] *Gal.* 6:17. Paul uses the word στίγματα = "marks." The verb στίζω was used to describe the marking of slaves. Cf. Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*. Paul described himself as δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. *Romans* 1:1.

[118] *Rev.* 7:2f; 9:4; 22:4. Note also *Rev.* 3:12.

[119] *Rev.* 13:16f; 14:1, 9; 16:2; 19:20; 20:4.

was determined by the records. The star mark was sufficient to fix the status of a "branded" *širku.*

The primary function of the *širkûtu* was to perform various subordinate duties connected with the routine of temple activities. Members of the *širkûtu* are described as husbandmen, shepherds, fowlers, bowmen, gate-keepers, military workmen, goldsmiths, and in certain texts are classed with laborers, stable men, artisans, carpenters and builders. At the same time a *širku* might be called upon to harvest reeds, measure barley, act as a porter or messenger, form part of the temple guard, assist in pulling the ship of an official, or perform work in the king's palace. Gobryas and his son made use of their services at Babylon, for the temple made a practice of placing them at the disposal of outside individuals. In return for the performance of work the *širkûtu* was supplied with clothing, food, drink, and money, and there is evidence that there were special quarters for the order.

Stringent provisions for bailment indicate the complete authority of the temple over the *širkûtu.* Not every member of the order was content with his lot. Some of them were insubordinate and had to be placed in chains. Others ran away and had to be brought back, sometimes at the point of the sword. The temple used every possible means to protect its claim upon those that had been dedicated to its patron deity. It should be noted that the different groups of the order were distinguished by the names of the deities to whom they had been dedicated and not by the names of the temples with which they were connected.

There are striking indications of the high social and commercial position occupied by some members of the *širkûtu.* Thus a certain *širku* is referred to as a prince who owned slaves. Cases are not wanting in which a *širku* assumed heavy obligations such as the lease of a tract of land, the incurrence of debt, the ownership of property, and the adoption of children. A *širku* could engage in business transactions, make legal contracts and become responsible for other members of the order. The courts of the temple and civil authorities recognized that a *širku* had the right of appeal, and a *širku* could be placed under oath the

same as any other individual. There is one instance of a *širku* performing an act in connection with a religious ceremony.

Very little is revealed concerning the marital life of members of the *širkûtu.* Evidently a *širku* could have a wife who was not a member of the organization. Such a wife had no claim upon her children, as they apparently became members of the *širkûtu.* If they visited her she had to give security for their return to the temple. Special note should be taken of the case of a woman who bore children to the brother of her former master after she had been dedicated to the *širkûtu.* On the other hand, there are certain texts which suggest that the *širkûtu* was characterized by an unexpected degree of moral sanctity. There is no evidence that the order bore much resemblance to the votaries mentioned in the Hammurabi Code,[120] the lax attendants of Ishtar mentioned in the Gilgamesh Epic,[121] the devotees of Astarte mentioned in the Old Testament,[122] or the immoral hierodules of Aphrodite mentioned by Greek writers.[123]

The *širkûtu* had more in common with the *Nethînîm,* mentioned in *Chronicles, Ezra* and *Nehemiah,* and the Levites as described in the priestly document. The *Nethînîm* (from נָתַן = *nadânu,*[124] translated οἱ δεδόμενοι in LXX, I Chron. 9:2, and called ἱερόδουλοι[125] by Josephus, *Ant.* XI, 5, 1) although traced back to Moses, Joshua and

[120]There is no certainty as to the particular function of these votaries, of which there were several kinds, *NIN-DINGIR-RA = entu, SAL-ME = tigiltu, NU-GIG = qadištu, NU-BAR = zermašitum* and *zikrum.* Cf. *MI* p. 67. The high position of these votaries is indicated in various laws of the Code. According to Lyon there is nothing in the record that forms a sure basis of ill-repute. See reference, note 71. Cf. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi,* and Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz.*

[121]The *ḫarimâti* and *šamḫâti.* Cf. *Gilgamesh Epic,* Tablet I, Columns 4 and 5, and Tablet VI, Columns 1 and 2.

[122]Cf. references under קָדֵשׁ and קְדֵשָׁה in Hebrew Lexicons. See Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible,* Vol. IV, p. 80, for reference to an inscription mentioning "a whole series of different temple servants" of Astarte.

[123]Cf. article on Hieroduli, *Dictionaire des Antiquites Grecques et Romaines,* Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio, Vol. 5, p. 171ff. Also *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. 6 pp. 671-676.

[124]The use of the verb *nâdânu* = "to give" in denoting the dedication of an individual to the *širkûtu* is a striking parallel to the meaning of the word *Nethînîm.*

[125]The word ἱερόδουλος is used by Josephus, one must suppose, in its primary sense, i. e., "temple slave." Likewise in I *Esdras* 1:3.

David,[126] assumed prominence as temple servants in connection with the return of the Jews from their exile in Babylonia, which may be regarded as significant. They accompanied both Zerubbabel and Ezra to Palestine and were among the first to dwell in the cities of the land of Judah after its resettlement.[127] There was a בֵּית הַנְּתִינִים,[128] which should be compared with *bît ʰširki*.[129] The *Nethînîm* were under the direction of overseers,[130] which reminds one of the *ʰrab širki*.[131] The Canaanitish Gibeonites were made "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the Hebrew sanctuary,[132] and the foreign names of the *Nethînîm* should also be noted.[133] In the Syriac, *Ezra* 8:20 has the term ܓܝܪ̈ = "aliens," "sojourners," for *Nethînîm*. This is paralleled by the instance of an Egyptian member of the *širkûtu*.[134] The thought naturally presents itself that some of the Jews may have served as members of the *širkûtu* in Babylonian temples. Finally, if a member of the *Nethînîm* married one outside his class, the offspring belonged to the order,[135] and this seems to have been the case with the *širkûtu*.[136] According to the record in *Numbers*,[137] the Levites were given (*nethûnîm*) to Aaron and his sons to be the caretakers of the temple, and their duties, as distinct from those of the priests, are fully described.[138] I *Esdras* 1:3 applies the term ἱερόδουλοι to the Levites. These descriptions of the origin, position and function of the *Nethînîm* and Levites form an interesting parallel to what we now know concerning the *širkûtu* of Babylonian deities.

[126] *Nu.* 31:30, 47; *Josh.* 9:27; *Ezra* 8:20.

[127] *Ezra* 2:43-54; 8:17; I *Chron.* 9:2; *Neh.* 7:46-56, 73; 11:3.

[128] *Neh.* 3:31.

[129] *REN* 186:6. Note *URU-SAG-PA-KAB-DUki*, *STD* 56:5; 76:4; 217:4; *RA* 1912, p. 73f. See also *RUL* 58:11; 115:15; 116:15; 126:43; 129:31; 164:9; 202:11, 43; *UDT* 93:2. Compare year 11 of Warad-Sin, page 23 of *Grice Chrn.*

[130] *Neh.* 11:21.

[131] *StrNbn* 317:7, 10; 496:6; 746:9; 643:3; 906:13; 976:9, 16; 988:8; 1010:11; 1037:7; *StrCyr* 74:8; *StrNbk* 253:3; *AENN* 38:3; *BRM* Part I 94:9; *YBT* Vol. VII 40:7. Cf. *SAL-SAG-PA-KAB-DU-bi*, *Hwb* p. 692; *SAG-PA-KAB-DU*, *UDT* 93:2.

[132] *Josh.* 9:3-27.

[133] *Ezra* 2:43-54; *Neh.* 7:46-56.

[134] *REN* 148:3. A duty of this *širku* was to bring wood to the temple.

[135] *Mishna Qiddūshīn*, III, 12; *Yĕbāmōth*, II, 4.

[136] *LCE* 106.

[137] *Nu.* 3:9; 8:16, 19; 18:2-6.

[138] *Nu.* 3:14-37; I *Chron.* 9:14-34; 23:17-32; 25:1-31; 26:1-32.

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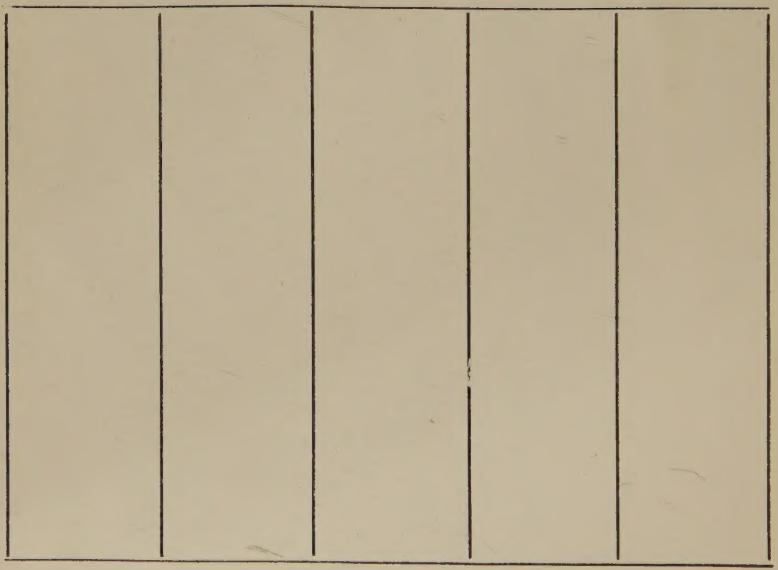

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